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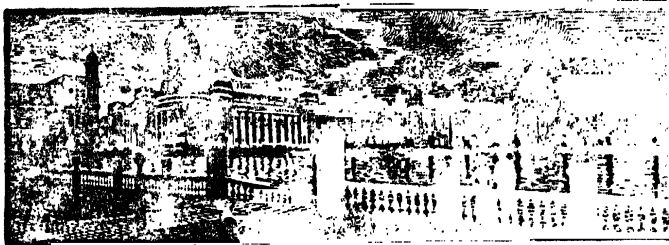
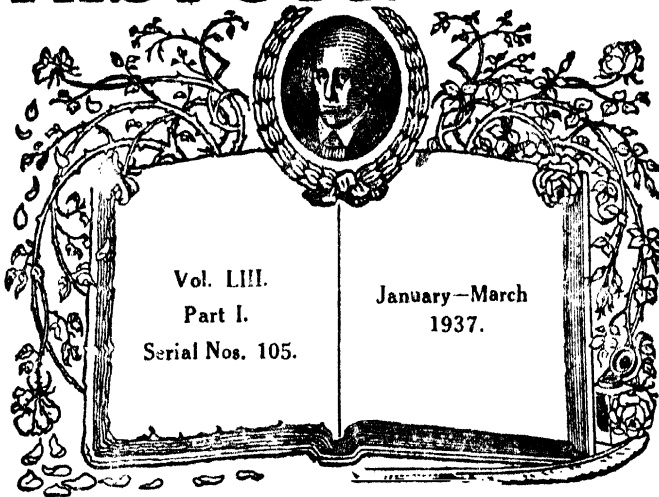
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Vols. 53-54



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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A forgotten Sea-fight in the "Bengal River"

(November 24, 1759).

MEMORIES of a forgotten sea—fight with the Dutch in the "Bengal River"—on November 24, 1759, are recalled by the announcement that a silver epergne, which was presented by the Court of Directors to Captain George Willson, the Commander of the *Calcutta* Indiaman for his gallantry upon that occasion, is in the market. The epergne which is an imposing piece of plate, of admirable workmanship, is approximately 22 to 24 inches in height, 24 to 26 inches in width and 14 to 16 inches in depth. Accompanying it is Captain Willson's log book and his dress dirk.

The award was made on February 19, 1762 and the proceedings are thus recorded in the Court Minutes of that date:—

COURT MINUTES 19TH FEBRUARY 1762.

TWO Reports from the Committee of Shipping dated the 18th instant, and this day, being read.

RESOLVED.

That for the Reasons given in the first Report Capt. George Willson late Commander of the *Calcutta* and Capt. Brook Samson of the *Hardwicke* have each a Gratuity to the Amount of One hundred Guineas in consideration of their Gallant Behaviour in those Ships against the Dutch in Bengal River in the Year 1759. And that Capt. John Allen have likewise a Gratuity to the value of Fifty Guineas (in addition to what he has received as Chief Mate) for his Brave Conduct in the *Duke of Dorset* in the above Engagement on Capt. Forrester the former Commander of that Ship his being disabled.

RESOLVED.

That Capt. Cornelius Inglis of the Ship *Shaftesbury* have a Gratuity to the value of One hundred Guineas for the great Services he rendered the Presidency of Madras during the time of its late Siege by the French—And that his said Conduct be taken further Notice of when his Ship shall be taken up—And.

That the above Gratuities be presented either in Money or Plate with the Company's Arms thereon at the Option of the Commanders.

And they being severally called into Court and acquainted with the above Resolutions, they each except Capt. Inglis made the Acceptance of the same in Plate, whereupon it was.

ORDERED.

That it be referr'd to the Committee of Treasury to provide the said Plate for them accordingly.

And that a Warrant be made out to Capt. Inglis for the said Sum of One hundred Guineas.

* * * * *

The most succinct account of the action, which was a most gallant feat of arms, is to be found in Colonel D. G. Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service* (Vol. II, p. 199). The extract is as follows :

On November 24, 1759, three Indiamen—the *Calcutta* 761 tons, Captain George Willson, Commodore, the *Duke of Dorset*, 544 tons, Captain Bernard Forrester, and the *Hardwicke*, 573 tons, Captain Brook Samson—carrying not more than 30 guns each, attacked the Dutch fleet in the Hooghly, consisting of the *Vlissingen*, the *Blaeswyck*, the *Welgelegen*, the *Princess of Orange* (each 36 guns) the *Elisabeth Dorotheo* and the *Waereld* (each 26 guns) and the *Mossel* (16 guns). All were captured except the *Blaeswyck* which escaped down the river but near the mouth met two other Indiamen, the *Oxford* and the *Royal George* coming up and struck her colours to them.

A longer account is given in Sir George Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive* (Vol. II, p. 158). This is based upon Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies* (1772) and Capt. Archibald Swinton's "Narrative of the Disputes subsisting between the Dutch and English in Bengal in November 1759" (reproduced in *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XXXI, pp. 16-19). Swinton had been serving as surgeon's mate on board the *Hardwicke* but had been gazetted in a commission in the Company's army as ensign on August 1, 1759.

Here is the story as told by Swinton :

On the 23rd [November] orders were sent to our Commodore, Captain Willson, to demand immediate restitution of our ships, subjects, and property, or to fight, sink, burn, and destroy the Dutch ships on their refusal. The next day the demand was made and refused. True British spirit was manifested on this occasion notwithstanding the inequality, the Dutch having seven to three (four of them capital ships) we attacked them and after about two hours engagement the Dutch Commodore struck and the rest followed his example, except his second who cut and run down as far as Culpee where she was stopped short by the *Oxford* and *Royal George*, which arrived two days before and had our orders to join the other Captains. The Dutch Comr. had about 30 men killed and as many wounded, she suffered the most among them, as did the *Duke of Dorset* on our side, who was more immediately engaged with her.

Our next extract is from Forrest's *Life of Clive* (Vol. II, p. 158):—

EXTRACT FROM THE LIFE OF LORD CLIVE,

by Sir George Forrest, C.I.E. Vol. II, P. 158.

ON November 21 the Dutch vessels cast anchor "in the offing of Sankeral, a point within cannon-shot of the English batteries." On the 22nd they landed on the opposite shore 700 Europeans and about 800 Buggoses, (1) "and dropped down with their ships to Melancholy Point, the lower end of the reach, being near where our three ships lay" (2). The same day Captain Wilson, who commanded the *Calcutta*, wrote to the Dutch commodore "that he was surprized to hear their troops had debarked on the territory of the English company, without permission obtained from the governor and council at Fort William." He assured him, if he ventured to land a single man more, he should construe it as an act of hostility, and exert himself to the utmost to sink and disperse their ships (3).

Clive, on hearing that the Dutch after landing their troops had dropped down the river and so separated their ships from their troops, determined to attack them both by land and water. He ordered Knox to withdraw the detachment at the batteries and join Forde with the utmost speed. He sent a message to Forde informing him that he would be speedily reinforced. He also sent orders to Captain Wilson, "the commodore of the English vessels," to demand immediate restitution of our ships, subjects and property ; or on refusal to fight, sink, burn, and destroy the Dutch ships. On the 24th the demand was made and refused. Wilson had the three English East-Indiamen "well equipped for war," says Grose, "and their quarters lined with bags of salt-petre to screen the men from the shot." The Dutch, whose superiority was in numbers and weight of metal, had four vessels of 36 guns each, three of 26 guns each, and one of 16 guns. They drew up in line of battle to receive the advancing foe, who followed their example. The first to engage was the *Dorset*. The capricious wind died away, and she had to bear alone an arduous contest. The continuous fire of the enemy almost tore her to pieces, and she had about ninety shot in her.

A light breeze now arose, and the *Calcutta* and *Hardwicke*, creeping up, got alongside of the enemy and opened fire with such tremendous effect that two of their smaller vessels had to cut their cables and run, and the other was driven ashore. For two hours the action continued with unabated vigour. The Dutch fought with their national obstinate courage. The deck of the *Vlissingen*, the commodore's ship, was strewn with the dead and wounded. James Zuydland, the commodore, could fight no more. He struck, and the rest followed his example except the second in command, "who got clear

(1) Malay soldiers : see Hobson-Jobson, *S. V. Bugia*.

(2) Grose states : "Below the English vessels."—Grose, Vol. II., p. 373.

(3) Swinton's Narrative states that "On the 23rd of November" the Dutch landed their troops. Grose gives the date as the 22nd, and he is confirmed by Captain Wilson's letter which was "dated on board the *Calcutta* the 22nd of November 1759."—Loc. cit., p. 374 note.

off by fighting his way, and fell down to Culpee." (4) Here he was captured by two British men-of-war, the *Oxford* and *Royal George*, that had just arrived in the river. The loss by the Dutch in killed and wounded was considerable ; their ships were seized and the prisoners taken to Calcutta. On the following day the Dutch suffered a decisive defeat on land. [at Biderra]

We now come to contemporary sources and append extracts from the log of the *Calcutta* kept by Pitt Collett the chief mate and the log of the *Duke of Dorset*, kept by George Seaton, the third mate. The latter gives an account of the wounding of Captain Zernard Forrester the Commander of the *Duke of Dorset* and of his subsequent death in Calcutta on March 2, 1760. Both logs are preserved at the India Office and the extracts are reproduced by the courtesy of Mr. W. T. Ottewell, O.B.E., the Superintendent of Records.—

EXTRACT FROM THE LOG OF PITT COLLETT, CHIEF MATE OF THE CALCUTTA.

Friday 23rd Nov. 1759.

Wind and Weather as before At Noon recd Orders Fm the Governor & Council to Proceed down the River to demand Restitution for ye Vessels they had taken & if they Refus'd to compel them so to do: At ½ past 4 PM weighd & Dropt Down with ye Tide. At 8 Do. came on board a Boat with a Flagg of Truce from ye Dutch Comodore at 9 Do. Returned at midnight came on board another Flagg of Truce At ye Same time sent our Boat on board them with a Flagg of Truce demanding of them Satisfaction which they refus'd at ½ past 8 P.M. Came too with ye Best Bowr. in the Lower Part of Tannah Reach in 8 Fathm. Water.

Saturday 24th

Light Breezes & fair weather at ½ past 6 A.M. weighd & dropt Down with ye Tide into Melancholly Reach at ½ past our Comodore hove out the Signal to Engage by Hoisting a Union Jack at ye Main Topgallt. Mast head & fird a shott at one of ye Dutch Ships on which an Engagement Ensued & Lasted an Hour & a Half when the Comodore struck his Colours as did three more of their ships & came on board us with a Flagg of Truce Bro't his Broad Pannant & delivered up his sword to ye Capt which he genteely Returned Immediately Mann'd our Boats & Sent them on board with an Officer & took ye Commanders & some of the officers out of Each Ship & Sevl of their Men & spikd up all their Guns at 5 P.M. Despatched a Sloop for Calcutta with Eighty Prisoners at 8 Do. came on board Chas. Stafford Playdell Esqr. one the Council of Calcutta to give Orders concerning the management of the Dutch Ships found on board the Comodore & one of the Other Ships Sevl Dead & wounded by their own Acct their was Upwards of Thirty killed on

board ye Comodore among which was ye Pilots of Each Ship & sevl officers.
Was oblig'd to cut ye Bt. Bowr Cable to Drop Lower Down.

Sunday 25th

Wind & Weather as yesterday sent to Town 2 Boats with Sick People.
Likewise sent the Capt & officers on board their Ships.

Monday, ye 26th

A Moderate Breeze & fair Weather. Came on board 3 Mallays & 6 Dutch
soldiers from ye Shore.

Tuesday 27th

Light Breezes & fair Weather Employd getting ye Sick Peoples from ye
Dutch Ships & sending to ye Hospital at Calcutta. Moor'd Ship ye sml Bowr
to ye Flood.

Wednesday ye 28th

Wind & Weather as yesterday sent our Pilot with an officer & 30 men
to moor ye Dutch Comodores Ships.

THE DEATH OF CAPT. FORRESTER.

Extract from the log of George Seaton, their mate of the *Duke of Dorset*.
Saturday, 24th November, 1759.

"Captain Forrester was wounded.

"Captain Forrester was wounded in the knee by a grape shot in the
steerage the second broadside when bravely animating his people to load
brisk and take good aim.

The surgeons of the other ships were sent for to assist in dressing Captain
Forrester's wound.

Monday, 26th November.

Captain Forrester's wound was dressed to day, the appearances are
favourable, the surgeon felt the ball very distinctly and gave great hope of
extracting it soon.

Tuesday, 27th November.

Captain Forrester had but an indifferent night, In the morning he was much better. The surgeons of the fleet assembled and were so happy to extract the ball. It proves to be a grape shot weighing about 3 or 4 ounces.

Wednesday, 28th November.

Captain Forrester had but an indifferent night, owing to the operation of extracting the ball.

Friday, 30th November.

Captain Forrester was carried on shore to his house.

Thursday, 6th December.

Captain Forrester is much easier and the Surgeons believe he will be so happy as to have the use of his leg again.

Friday, 11th December.

Captain Forrester is much better, the separation [suppuration] of the wound continuing kindly.

Saturday, 2nd February 1760.

On acct. of the Honble Company this Morning the most Eminent Surgeons and Physitions of Calcutta Assemble at Captn Forresters house they Acquaint'd him the Necessity there was of taking of his Leg other Sinues having Appeard Representing the Danger that might Ensue in a few days. he gave his consent when Doct Tennant perform'd the Ampitation with great Applause from the Faculty Present. Captn. Forrester bore the pain with Surprising Resolution. In the Evening he was as well as a Person in his Malancholy Situation could be.

Tuesday 4 March 1760.

In the morning had advice of Captn Forrester departing this Life on Sunday last much Lamented on board and Likewise at Calcutta.

E. C.

Scraps of Fort William Regimental History

RECRUIITS for the East India Company's Army were generally obtained by contract ; anyone between 15 and 50 stood a good chance of being accepted. The Company had a bitter antipathy to Roman Catholics, consequently but few Irish were recruited. The casualty lists and advertisements about deserters contain few Irish names. Not only were Roman Catholics excluded from the Company, but also Protestants married to Catholics ; it was moreover, ordered that any Officer or Soldier in the Company who should marry a Catholic, or whose wife should become a convert to that religion, should be transferred to the Infantry. That applied particularly to the Bengal and the Madras artillery battalions. "The Court further directed that no foreigner whether in our service or not, (except that hath been admitted into it by the Court of Directors) nor no Indian black, or persons of mixed breed, nor any Roman Catholic of what nation soever, shall on any pretence be admitted to set foot in our Laboritories or any of the Military Magazines, either out of curiosity or to be employed in them or to come near them, so as to see what is doing or contained therein ; nor shall any such persons have a copy or sight of any accounts or papers relating to any military stores whatever.

That shows that the jibe that India was won by Irishmen under English officers for the benefit of Scotchmen may be partly true so far as Scots go but the Irish took but a trifling part in British-Indian military history. Even in the British Army there never were more than ten per cent of Irish, and that was during famine years in Ireland. Up to 1881 there were but eight Irish battalions out of one hundred and forty six in the whole of the Army.

On page 240 of the "Presidential Armies of India" the writer complains that "The European soldiers were a shabby-looking stunted set of men, because the Company would only enlist Protestants. I wish for the honour of the English nation, they would decline sending such diminutive, dwarfish, crooked recruits as of late have gone to supply their settlements. To say no better could be had in time of war is an evasion my own experience proves altogether light ; for since 'tis no matter what country in Europe they are of, let but three captains be sent to Ireland, in less than three months they could raise a regiment of picked fellows, who would be able to do them service ; besides, they look like men, which is enough for them at Fort George. Objecting to their religion looks like partiality ; for the topasses in India are all of the same principles. The Queen's officers 'list none but Protestants to serve in her troops, wherefore the country is quite over-run with lusty men who are ready to serve for want of employ."

The ban on Roman Catholics lasted well into the 19th Century.

The popular idea that the East India Company's army were big men, existed up to quite a few years ago. When the writer first came out, ex-E. I. C. soldiers were scattered all over the country, claiming to have served with giants. As most of them appeared to be little more than mannikins, an opportunity was offered and taken to examine the registers of recruits at the India Office. A glance at thousands of names showed but one six-footer who was enlisted for the cavalry.

In the British army soldiers generally enlisted for life, but apparently there were exceptions. In the "Story of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry," (page 50) it is stated:—"In 1783 troops were required in the East Indies for the war against Tippoo Sahib, Sultan of Mysore. The 68th and 77th, who were under orders to embark, having successfully claimed their discharge according to the terms of their enlistment, on February 13 and 52nd were invited to engage for three years' Indian service at a bounty of three guineas apiece. In twentyfour hours the regiment was completed to one thousand men from other corps at Chatham, and it embarked at the beginning of March."

Owing to the difficulty in obtaining recruits, much of it due to the urgent demands of the British service, the East India Company introduced the short service system. At one time the contract was for ten years; later that was shortened to five. After that, if fit, men extended their service by periods of three years.

Apparently there was a deal of elasticity in regard to time-expired men. An enterprising mariner, fitting out a privateer, applied for permission to enlist some of the Company's men in Fort William. Permission was refused. It was pointed out that the men were already four years over their time and ought not to be detained. The Company replied stating there was still hope that they would change their minds and reengage.

Officers served for ten years before being entitled to leave out of India. At one time Company's officers leaving India had to resign their commissions. On return their commissions were restored. The leave—three years—was liberal enough once the ten years were served but on return to India they might hang about a contonment for a year or more, waiting for an appointment. If, however, the leave, up to two years, was spent at the Cape of Good Hope or in Australia, they did not lose any regimental or staff appointment they might be holding before they left. Lord Cornwallis, the greatest Governor-General India ever had, obtained for officers furlough on full pay after they had put in ten years. Up to then few of them had any pay while on leave.

The rank of a Company's military officer was not recognised in England. In India it was little more than nominal. At one time any boy ensign, British service, took precedence on parade of any officer of the Company's army, no matter how senior he might be. Then some readjustment was made but a Colonel, the highest rank in the Company's Army, was only equal to a Captain in a Royal Regiment, and then at the bottom of the

grade ; and so in each rank ; a Captain in the Company's service coming below an ensign in the Royal Army.

In order to place the two armies somewhat more on a level in regard to rank was passed in August 1797.

There used to be some army attestation forms on view in the Imperial Library. One, dated March 8 1770 runs :—

"I, John Thomsend, born at St. James, Westminster, aged 26 years, 5 feet 4 inches high, Labourer, do make oath, that I am a Protestant, that I have voluntarily engaged myself as a private soldier, to serve the Honourable United East India Company five years at St. Helena, or any of their settlements in India ; and I do further make oath that I am not an Apprentice to any person, or a Soldier or Sailor in His Majesty's Service, or belong to the Militia, and that to the best of my knowledge I am in perfect Health and free from all Disorders."

LONDON.

His
s/d. John X Thomsend
Mark.

That the medical examination was of a perfunctory nature one gathers from the following :—

"These are to certify who it may concern that the aforesaid John Thomsend came before me, one of His Majesty's Justices of Peace, and made Oath, that he has Voluntarily engaged himself to serve the Honourable United East India Company five years as a soldier at St. Helena or any of their Settlements in India, that he has not any disorder he knows of, and that he is not an apprentice to any Person or a Soldier or Sailor in His Majesty's Service, or belonging to the Militia."

Sworn before me, the 9 March 1770

s/d. Will Bickford.

Two other forms gave details of George Cartwright, aged 15 and 5 feet 2½ inches high ; and of Anthony Boddin, of Wigton, Shire of Galloway, aged 38.

When men enlisted they were asked if they wanted to go out in the first shop. It frequently happened that recruits were kept on without training of any sort, at Parkhurst, Chatham, or Warley, (wherever the depot happened to be) for six months waiting for the favourable season. Like many others, numbers of recruits had urgent reasons for leaving their country for their country's good. Doubtful cases embarked at midnight dodging Bow Street Runners and sergeants from the regular army who obviously knew where to look.

The senior regiments of the Company's troops performed various duties ; they served as dragoons, or mounted infantry right up to the arrival of the first English regiment of dragoons in 1783 and from the earliest times they worked light guns which formed part of their armament. They also acted as sappers and miners on important occasions such as the Siege of Seringapatam, at Java, and Nagpur. They were drill instructors to the Native Army ; in fact the old Company's Europeans did all the training for the Indian regiments—they might be said to have made the Indian Army.

They often stayed many years in one station. Some men never got any farther than St. Helena where they ended their days. When reliefs came in troops changed stations at any time of the year. Little or no fuss appears to have been made of the hot weather. The Army List for February 1790 states that troops for Benares and Jaunpore will move at the end of four months which would mean the hottest time of the year. Another relief was fixed for "previous to the commencement of the rainy season." Perhaps one of the most irksome duties of troops in Fort William was when a subaltern and 16 other ranks patrolled the town from 10 p.m. until 5 o'clock the following morning.

While discipline was often cruelly savage and punishments worse than barbarous there must have been a deal of go as you please about soldiering a century ago.

In "The Bengal Horse Artillery" of the Olden Time—From Recruit to Staff Sergeant, by N. W. Bancroft, published in 1885, the writer, an Eurasian of fine physique, joined the Artillery Band at Dum Dum at the age of nine. When eighteen he transferred "on the 7th of December in the yeare of Grace on thousand eight hundred and forty one, when leather breeches and long boots, brass helmets with red horse-hair manes and jackets with ninety buttons, or, "by Our Lady" a hundred, were the favourite dress of the Bengal horse artillery." Before then he had "marched from Dum Dum to Agra, which lasted three months; the next was from Agra to Jodhpur, and back to Agra again, which lasted three months more. Then he marched from Agra to Cawnpore, then back to Dum Dum, and, of course, had to walk every inch of the way. That led him to know that he "had a soul above "gutter-slapping," and he applied to be allowed to join a horse battery.

On February 3 1842, he formed one of a party of 50 recruits for the Horse Artillery, 100 for the foot artillery, and 400 recruits for the 1st Bengal European infantry regiment (popularly known as the 1st Yeos) who marched from Dum Dum for the Upper Provinces."

"They reached Cawnpore in April; (the hot winds and "Cawnpore devils,"—eddies of dust—were blowing furiously") and went into barracks." A few days later the "horse and artillery recruits were ordered to march and join their respective troops and companies higher up." Two days march from Meerut, rain set in and the men had a bad time. "They proposed to

the young officer in charge to permit them to find their way into Meerut the best way they could," and they marched all night in the pelting rain. A week later, Bancroft with two recruits, were informed by the adjutant "that their marching was not yet at an end; that they must proceed to Kurnal, another seven days' march and by the way of getting the matter the sooner over, ordered them to march the following morning, giving each of them seven days' dry batta money—which amounted—the writer loves to be particular—to the immense sum of Rs. 1-7-4 per man!"

"They had barely advanced a couple of miles on the road when one of the men was rendered completely prostrate by fever." On the third day they left the sick man "to sleep the night out and take as much rest as he could." The two halted at a village where an Indian woman made them some curry and rice. "Towards evening the "feverish third party arrived, dragging his slow length along."

They made seven marches into four, during the hottest time of the year and eventually joined their troop on the 14th May 1842 after "a tedious and protracted march of nearly four months."

There was little or no sport for the men. Their barracks were ill-lighted; three drams of rum daily half doped them making them forget they were human beings. In every regiment rum as well as beer could be bought in the canteen; commissariat rum was sold at one anna per dram, "a considerably higher price than would be paid in the bazaar (where a dram of rum cost two pice and of brandy one anna." Two drams of rum and one quart of beer were all a man was allowed to buy in his own name during the day. But bhisties brought in arrack in bhisti bags, which was sold at one pice per dram—64 for one rupee.

When soldiers broke down in health they were posted to various Corps of Invalids, stationed in places like Chunar, or Poonamalee where they eked out life with an Indian woman on eight rupees a month. One of these pensioners was "cut off in his prime at the age of 119 years" according to the inscription on his tombstone in Chunar.

"In Downing Street red tapeworms thrive;
In Somerset House they are all alive;
And slimy tracks mark where they fall,
Within the precincts of Whitehall."

In the old kuch-purwani days red tape did not have the power of control it has to-day when wireless can check any official activity almost before the job starts. The excuse for red tape is a sound one—it is better to be dilatory than wrong. But even during the days where a whole regiment was run on a couple of carelessly kept books, red tape was not entirely absent as the following extracts will show.

Home Dept.

Public

11 April, 1785

No. 22

The Hon'ble Governor-General and Council

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

I beg leave to address you, Hon'ble Sir, and Sirs through this Channel, on my now present, particular situation. Being Wounded and made Prisoner at Badenore; and not having it in my power (as we were compelled to March from Chittledroog through the Mysore Country to Madrass) to get my Hospital Bills signed by Brigadier General McCleod, my then commanding Officer on the Malabar Coast whose signature is absolutely necessary for me to have who I now find is on his Passage to this Presidency, and whom I fully expected to have met at Bombay. May I presume to solicit, you, Hon'ble Sir, and Sirs, so far on your wellknown candour and generosity, upon my refunding into your Treasury, or Paymaster the Passage Money which have taken (sic) (Flattering myself at the time being as the most expeditious mode I could then possibly adopt, for a Passage to Bombay) and permitted to await on Genl. McLeod's arrival here or if necessary to go to Madrass with the expectation of meeting him there."

"And through your Indulgence allowed to be on the same Footing with those Officers, that are by your orders going to Bombay to settle their Accounts with that Presidency.

I remain,

Calcutta, 9th April, 1785.

Hon'ble Sir, & Sirs,

Sd/ Robt Brisco Surg. 100th Regt.

Considering the time the journeys took he apparently had to cover some ground to get his hospital bills passed. But during the last war a member of the Calcutta Port Defence Corps was made to go four times to and from Bangalore at Government expense, before he could get his discharge.

A pathetic appeal from a "Volunteer" who appeared to occupy a position between the officers and the rank and file for which volunteers were paid nothing a month. Volunteers appear to have taken a deal of pains to become attached to a regiment, or to the commanding officer; while their duties were like those of the niece in the Portuguese priest's household—not quite accurately defined—they were expected to rush about like a spare general. From the following letter, soldiering for nothing was something of an "appointment" which had few claims on anything but the meanness of Government.

To the Honble John McPherson Esqr.

Governor General & Member of the Supreme Council.

Gentlemen,

Laying before you this address is a freedom I never intended to take but when I seriously reflect on the cruelty with which I am treated in his Majesties 101 Regiment I cannot but with the greatest concern help repining at my misfortunes and begs pardon for troubling your honours with the following recital of my case. I arrived in this settlement in the Hon'ble Company's service in the year 1782 recommended to the late Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote by his brother who is my uncle which may appear by a letter from Major General Giles Stibbert to your Honble Board in my favour dated the 9th of June 1782 I am afraid the detail of my misfortunes since that date may trespass on your Honours' time. I proceeded from this to Madrass where I arrived after the death of the late Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote and through the recommendation of Lady Coote was appointed a volunteer to His Majesties 101 Regiment in September 1783 by Major General Sir John Burgoyne Commander in Chief of his Majesties forces in India. I joined the regiment in the Carnatic and was with it on actual service for twelve month and upwards some misunderstanding happened between me and some of the Officers of the Regt by some falsehoods alledged against me by some evilminded person of which I was excluded from duty with the regiment by Captain Fuller then Commanding, I have repeatedly demanded a Court of Enquiry or Courtmarshal before I left the field which would not be granted me. I have made frequent applications to Colonel Gordon since his arrival in Calcutta to have my arrear cleared of the regiment, but to no purpose, I never received any more pay or allowance in the Regt than pay full Batta and gratuity for October and November 83. I waited on Justice Hyde to make the enclosed Affidavit who refused taking it without a letter from Colonel Gordon. The misfortunes I have met with in this regiment renders me at a loss for the common necessities of life. Therefore I most humbly request your Honour will please to order me payment of my affairs in the regiment with a passage allowed by your Honours for volunteers in his Majesty's service or such sum of money as is allowed by the Hon'ble Company for passage in as I could by no other mode redress I humbly crave your Honours protection.

I have the honour to be with every
sentiment of respect

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and very humble

servant

s/d Wm. Homan,

Volunteer, 101 Regiment.

Calcutta, the
6th March, 1785.

When, early in 1785 the 2nd Battalion, Royal Highland Regiment marched out of Fort William for Dinapore; the 98th Foot, on March 26th marched in and did duty there with the 100th Regiment.

I am, unfortunately conscious that there are certain discrepancies in my story. Authorities differ. In the *History of Highland Regiments* it is stated that on April 18 1786, the 2nd Battalion, Royal Highland Regiment, was "formed into a separate corps, with green facings, under the denomination of the 73rd (Highland) Regiment under the command of Sir George Osborne." They were in Dinapore at the time, returning to Calcutta later in the year. There is some obscurity about their whereabouts in 1787 and 1788. Army Lists in those days did not mention particular stations—"East Indies" was as far as they went, but the 73rd probably did duty with the 3rd and 4th Battalions of the Company's Europeans, and were certainly in Fort William again in 1790. But I am not the only one to feel that,

"What is hit is history;
What is missed, is mystery."

According to the *Bengal Calendar and Register* for 1790 the 73rd (Highland) Regiment of Foot, a Troop of Body Guard, and the 4th Battalion, European Infantry were in Fort William. The Indian troops between "Presidency" and Barrackpore were the 9th, 14th, 16th, 18th, 26th, 28th, 33rd and 35th Battalions belonging to the 2nd Brigade. At least four of these battalions must have been in Fort William. In addition there were the European Militia, Town Guards of Calcutta, Ordnance, and Supply Departments, and one or more companies of Artillery. Dalhousie Barracks, which now accommodates the only battalion in garrison, had not then been built. The puzzle is how did all these men find room to sleep? The 42nd Highlanders, when sent to Dinapore on account of lack of accommodation were lucky to escape from a death trap.

In 1787 the danger of French aggression in India led Mr. Pitt, then Prime Minister, to recognise the necessity of maintaining a strong European garrison in India. "He accordingly introduced a Bill known as the East India Declaratory Act by which the Company was compelled to defray the cost of raising, transporting, and maintaining troops necessary for the security of India. There was strong opposition but the Bill became law.

One of the regiments specially raised was the 76th Foot which was "born" on October 12, 1797. Its first muster was on December 24 of that year when 570 of all ranks were on parade.

The second muster was on March 20, 1788 at Chatham. The regimental roll contained the name of Lieutenant "Hon Arthur Weslie (sic) afterwards known as the Duke of Wellington. Six companies embarked in five ships at Gravesend on March 26, totalling 31 officers, and 673 of other ranks; two companies remaining at home. All the ships arrived at Madras on dates varying from the 14th to the 20th July. This was (for those days) a very quick voyage, anything under four months being above the average. From an inspection of the ships' logs no incident of any particular interest or excitement seems to have happened. We read that the soldiers were a good deal employed by the ships' people in picking oakum, that the troop-decks were at regular intervals "washed with vinegar and smoaked" and that on

one or two occasions the assistance of the military was called in to help the ships' officers in keeping order among some mutinous members of the crew.

All the above is taken from that excellent "*Historical Record of the 76th 'Hindustan' Regiment*, by Lieutenant Colonel P. A. Hayden, D.S.O., who states that two companies that had been formed at Calcutta joined the regiment at Poonamalee in 1789 but according to the *Bengal Calender* for 1790 there were three companies in Calcutta, under orders for Madras. Two of these companies were raised by impressing men found in punch houses and brothels, a third company being raised in a similar manner in Canton where a surprising number of English could be found—some authorities giving the number at 4,000—most of whom were deserters from ships. During the next two years the 76th saw a deal of fighting, taking an active part in the Siege of Seringapatam. Fairly early in 1792 the regiment moved to Fort William where it remained until 1797 when it left for Dinapore.

December 24, 1798, saw the 76th back in Fort William with 48 officers (21 on leave) 40 sergeants, 22 drummers and 811 rank and file having been brought up to strength by 425 volunteers from the 36th Foot. Orders were received for the regiment to move to Cawnpore in 1800, where it remained for five years. After that the record was a fine one of hard fighting when more than half the strength was killed or wounded or dead from disease.

Fort William saw the 76th yet again. Towards the end of 1805, to quote Colonel Hayden's History—"It was usual in those days upon a regiment being ordered home, to ask for volunteers to join a corps having some time still to do in the country. Two hundred and eighty four men volunteered accordingly for the 75th, and one hundred and two for the Company's European Regiment, soldiering in India being then very popular. Others, however, waited till they got to Calcutta, for which place the regiment left on September 10th, arriving at Fort William by march route and by water early in December. Here there were ninety two volunteers for the Company's European troops; the result of all which was that the strength present on the last muster in India, viz., that held on the 1st February, 1805, was—

Officers	...	...	...	...	25
Staff Sergeants and Serjeants	...	...	...	...	72
Corporals	...	...	...	...	50
Drummers	...	...	...	...	22
Privates	...	...	...	...	17

Colonel Hayden's History does not contain this most creditable example of the officers and men of the 76th Regiment. "In 1796 things were so bad in England owing to a threatened invasion by Buonaparte, that on July 26, the 76th Regiment at Dinapore contributed to a fund for the defence of Great Britain. Officers gave one month's pay; N.C.O.'s and men, fourteen days. The regimental total came to £600. The 27th Dragoons, (afterwards

the 24th) the 75th at Bombay, and the 74th at Wallajahabad similarly contributed and promised to come forward with an annual subscription as long as the war lasted."

It must be admitted that the Honourable East India Company was mean, and extremely mean to the lower ranks of the army. It had to be. Nevertheless, during the Napoleonic wars the "Company unanimously proposed to raise and clothe three Fencible Regiments to serve in Great Britain, Ireland, or in the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and to recommend that the Officers belonging to the Company's Military Establishments in India, now in Europe, may be employed in these Regiments, subject to His Majesty's approbation." (October 9, 1795.)

That seems to be quite as good as spirit as that which animated so many of our patriots during the last war when they shamelessly announced "Business as usual" as their motto and the idea they had for serving their country.

Little more than nine years after "Arthur Weslie" was appointed to the 76th Regiment he started for India in command of the 33rd Regiment. Today both regiments are incorporated as the The Duke of Wellington's Regiment in the present Army List.

A short history of the Iron Duke states that he was born in May 1, 1769. On March 7, 1787, when not quite 18, he received a commission as ensign in the 73rd Foot, and in December of that year was promoted to a lieutenancy—first in the 76th Regiment, from which unit he moved into the 41st, and then into the 12th Light Dragoons. On June 30, 1794, he obtained a company in the 58th Foot, but exchanged in the same year into the 18th Light Dragoons. On April 30, 1793, he became a major in the 33rd Foot, the lieutenant-colonelcy of which he purchased in September of that year, when he was only 24 years of age.

Those were the days of purchase when money counted more than experience but there are few who could deny that had as the purchase system was, it worked well in regard to the Iron Duke.

In February 1797, the 33rd Regiment, 985 strong, marched into Fort William but left for the expedition to Manila in August of that year. "The transports conveyed them as far on the way as Prince Edward's Island. Here a frigate overtook the slow-going convoy, and Wellesley, who was in command of the expedition, was ordered to return to India forthwith, where affairs had become so serious as to call for all available troops. By November the 33rd were once more in Calcutta." In August and September, 1798, they left for Madras.

It is said that on the voyage out from Home, Colonel Wellesley, who, like Lord Kitchener, was musical, feeling that music and soldiering did not harmonise, threw his violin overboard.

During the time the 33rd were in Southern India, the bandmaster of the regiment (a civilian in those days) harmonised and scored for his band "Chundah's Song", a tune to which a celebrated Hyderabad nautch girl

used to dance. That was probably the first successful effort to arrange Indian music to Western notation.

February 11, 1797, saw the 78th Seaforth Highlanders arrive at Calcutta; they marched into Fort William the following day. They suffered from scurvy on the voyage out, but, more fortunate than the original 78th (now the 72nd) there were few deaths. The old 78th left Portsmouth on June 12, 1781, 973 strong. Before reaching Madras on April 2, 1782, 247 men had died of scurvy, and out of all that landed, only 369 were fit to carry arms. By the following October 600 were fit for duty. (*History Highland Regiments Vol. II. p. 524.*)

Ten days after arrival the 78th embarked in boats for Berhampore. About the beginning of August 1798, on the embarkation of the 33rd Foot with the expedition for Manila, the 78th was ordered to Fort William and arrived there three days later.

In October, six companies proceeded to Chunar and, as the 33rd returned to Calcutta during November, the Second Division of the 78th left Fort William under the command of Lieut. Colonel J. R. Mackenzie, and joined the remainder of the regiment in Chunar. Yet another visit was paid to Fort William as the 78th came down country, arriving at Calcutta on December 13, 1801, and remained there until January 1803, when it was ordered to Bombay.

The historian of the 78th, in the *History of Highland Regiments*, states, "While the regiment was in India" (under the command of Lieut. Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Belmaduthy, later under Lieut. Colonel J. Randall Mackenzie of Suddie,) "The temperate habits of the soldiers and Colonel Mackenzie's mode of punishment, by a threat to inform his parents of the misconduct of the delinquent, or to send a bad character of him to his native country, attracted the notice of all India."

"Their sobriety was such that it was necessary to restrict them from selling or giving away the usual allowance of liquor to other soldiers." As it was unlikely that they could draw the money in lieu of the daily three gills of rum, the restriction must have a damaging effect upon the sobriety of the regiment.

Before leaving India the 78th paid another visit to Calcutta. They had been in Java from 1811 and on September 18, 1816 the headquarters of the regiment arrived in Calcutta from Batavia. Of the 1927 men who had left Madras in 1811, only 400 men survived.

Six companies were on board the "Frances Charlotte" which, on November 5, struck a rock about 12 miles from the island of Preparis. The food they were able to land from the ship soon gave out. Ships came up and rescued many of the stranded soldiers, but a gale suddenly stopped further rescue with the result that 5 subalterns and 109 other ranks, stayed hungry on the island, sharing an occasional shellfish picked up at low tide, until December 9 when they were "relieved," rejoining the regiment in Fort William on December 12.

One company of the 78th had been left behind at Java. That came along later when the whole regiment left the Sandheads on March 1st, 1817, arriving at Portsmouth on July 5, 1817.

The 78th were not altogether "through" with Calcutta. Nine years were spent at Home, mostly in Ireland, and during the next ten they were in Ceylon. After six years home service they left for Poonah. From there they shipped to Karachi and marched to Sukkur, where fever broke out. "The regiment lost, between the 1st of September, 1844, and the 30th April, 1845, 3 officers, 532 men, 68 women, and 134 children total 737 souls." (History of Highland Regiments Vol. II. p. 658.)

The 78th in November, 1756, sailed for Persia and when the operations there were completed, left Mahommerah for Borubay, arriving on May 22nd and 23rd, when they received the astounding news of the Mutiny of the entire Bengal Army. The regiment, which numbered 28 officers and 828 men was transferred to four ships which arrived at Calcutta on the 9th and 10th of June, proceeding direct to Chinsurah, some 25 miles from Calcutta.

"On the night of the 13th, at 11 p.m., an order was received for the 78th to march immediately to Barrackpoor, and after assisting in disarming the native troops' (some 3½ battalions) returned to Chinsurah on the 16th, thus allaying the disgraceful panic, details of which "have been set down in the famous "Red Pamphlet" by Colonel Malleon, who was himself an eye-witness, and who twenty years later wrote his history of the Sepoy Mutiny, that, "as an accurate picture of the events of that afternoon, it is irrefutable; there is not a comma to add, nor is there a comma to be withdrawn."

"Lest we forget" it is worth while going over those dreadful days again, which can almost be described in four words:—"IGNORANCE", "ARROGANCE", "COWARDICE", "PANIC". Colonel Malleon doesn't mince matters:—

"It has been said by a great writer that there is scarcely a more undignified entity than a patrician in a panic. The veriest sceptic as to the truth of this aphorism could have doubted no longer, had he witnessed the living panorama of Calcutta on the 14th June. All was panic, disorder, and dismay. It was all but universally credited that the Barrackpore brigade was in full march on Calcutta, that the people in the suburbs had already risen, that the King of Oudh with his followers, was plundering Garden Reach. Those highest in office were the first to give the alarm. There were secretaries to Government running over to Members of Council, loading their pistols, barricading their doors, sleeping on sofas; Members of Council abandoning their houses with their families and taking refuge on board the ships in the river. Crowds of lesser celebrities, impelled by these examples, having hastily collected their valuables, were rushing to the Fort, only too happy to be permitted to sleep under the Fort guns. Horses, carriages, palanquins, vehicles of every sort and kind, were put into requisition to convey panic-stricken fugitives out of the reach of imaginary cut-throats.

In the suburbs almost every house belonging to the Christian population was deserted. Half a dozen determined fanatics would have burnt down three parts of the town. A score of London thieves could have made their fortunes by plundering the house in the neighbourhood of Chowringhee which had been abandoned by their inmates."

Dr. Mouat, another eye-witness, in the account he furnished to Sir William Kaye states, "the whole of the ghauts was crowded with fugitives, and those who could find no shelter on the ships, took refuge within the Fort, of which the squares, the corridors, all the available space everywhere, indeed, were thronged by many, who passed the night in their carriages."

Those who would like to know more about those days should read Sir Evan Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New*, which is amazingly full of information about that great city.

It is fairly safe to say that in the event of a similar upheaval there will be another frantic rush to Fort William. The local people have been brought up to believe that the Fort was built to shelter all the Christian population of Calcutta in time of danger. Cowardice, like history, can repeat itself; if not always in the same way, often in the same place. 101 years previous to the outbreak of the Muntiny, the officials bolted from Suraj-ud-Dowlah's rabble, squeaking like muskrats and possibly smelling about as unpleasantly. That did not prevent them clamouring for a full share of the prize money after braver men had fought at Plassey. Clive's opinion of the Englishmen who so successfully played that game for which there are no rules—safety first—is still on record. He wrote privately to the Governor of Madras and advised him not to believe a word they might say, "for they are bad subjects, and rotten at heart, and their conduct finds no excuse, even among themselves." "Every other inch a gentleman," is a flattering testimonial that could be applied to each of those objects of Clive's scorn, individually.

Judging by the 1801, Army List India must have been a Happy Hunting Ground for staff officers. Under the heading of "General and Field Officers having Local Rank", were two Lieutenant Generals—Alured Clarke K.B., and Giles Stibbert. The latter appears to have put in many years in India judging by the length of time his name appears in Government. notifications.

37 Major Generals were each drawing £10,000 a year. (I have a note to this effect but the source of information is unfortunately mislaid.) 2 Brigadiers, 35 Colonels. 142 Lieutenant Colonels, and 22 Majors. In 1757 Captains were in command of Indian regiments. With "double batta" their pay averaged £1000 per annum.)

Three years later the number of full Colonels was down to 34; Lieutenant Colonels dropped to 90. Majors increased by 2 to 24. Lieutenant Generals Clarke and Stibbert were still in India, the latter being in Fort William.

Most writers on the Eurasian question appear to have missed an old Company's order dated 1692, which can be found in Henry Davison Love's "Vestiges of old Madras."

"Encourage by all means that you can invent that our Souldiers do mafry with the Native women, because it is impossible to get ordinary young women, as we have before directed, to pay their own passages, although Gentlewomen sufficient do offer themselves."

Apparently some gallant fellows helped to solve the difficulty in regard to passages for young women, for the *Calcutta Gazette* of January 27, 1785, contains the following:—

"Two women taken out by Major MacGowan and Mr. Treves to be sent home at their expense."

The Revd. J. Long, author of "Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government," writing in the *Calcutta Review* in September 1860, seemed to consider the old time Anglo-Indian a polygamous animal. He says concubinage was prevalent. A man wrote in a *Calcutta* paper in 1780, recommending Christians to follow his example of seeking the society of a mistress in the heat of the day.

He tells of an elderly military character in Fort William who, as the pious old lady so sympathetically put it—"enjoyed the privileges of the early Christians" by maintaining a seraglio which, on a peace footing, mustered four sections of fours. On being interrogated by a friend as to what he did with such a number, he airily replied—"I just give 'em a little rice, you know, and let em' run about!"

The major was subsequently reported to have lost his heart to a fair damsel who had come out in the matrimonial fishing fleet, and offered what he had lost with his overdraft. Everything might have gone smoothly had not other ladies inquired, "My dear! How can you be the sixteenth part of a major?"

What happened after that we are not told, but, as ever, the course of true love seldom runs on ball bearings.

Captain Williamson, another writer of the times, said that the cost of a mistress as a regular item of expenditure was Rs. 40 monthly, "no great price for a bosom friend, when compared with the sums laid out upon some British damsels."

John Farquhar, a character, more or less connected with Fort William made gunpowder for the Company at Dakhinsore about the end of the 18th century. He contracted with a solitary servant to feed him for two annas a day. When he retired he took 84 lakhs with him—"not all made by peculation." On his death he left £100,000 to a Scottish university to endow a professorship in atheism which was turned down. He must have had some differences with missionaries to dispose his wealth in such a manner.

To take another side of social life in *Calcutta*. It was reported on June 19, 1800, that "Twenty-six convicts, with one Woman, who came from New South Wales in the *Minerva* were ordered to be held in confinement until they could be shipped out of the country."

There are many who still believe that Englishmen in the good old days could do as they liked with the native people. Outside British jurisdiction many undoubtedly got away with it, but in Calcutta, and Fort William in particular, that did not always happen. "Turnbull, mate of a private vessel, for knocking down a Havildar and a Sepoy was ordered to be sent to England."

(15th October, 1801).

The last decade of the eighteenth century saw the meteoric rise of Napoleon Buonaparte. In 1793 French finances were down 99 per cent. Troops were without clothes, food, boots, or pay; but Napoleon fought and looted half Europe, found food and pay for his men, enriched the French treasury and eventually restored the franc to its normal value.

In 1798 he invaded Egypt intending to found a French colony there which, when his plans were ready for the conquest of India would act as a base for his operations. He estimated that his position could be consolidated in eighteen months. So thoroughly had he conceived his plans that he took with him numbers of engineers, chemists, astrologers, professors of history and of science, and in anticipation of emulating Alexander the Great he dubbed himself "Sultan el Kebir."

The Battle of the Pyramids saw the overthrow of the Egyptain forces who put up quite a good fight. Occasional risings were suppressed with a "whiff of grape" down the streets, and a subsequent procession of heads stuck on pikes warned other patriots of the fate in store for them did they think fit to question authority. Unfortunately for Napoleon, Nelson, on August 1 1798, completely defeated the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, only four ships escaping destruction.

The French, however, had no business in Egypt, and England was resolved at any cost to drive them out. Sir Ralph Abercrombie took a considerable force of troops, landing them at Aboukir on the 8th March 1801. A severe though indcisive action followed five days later. On March 20 the French were defeated in the battle of Alexandria. Hostilities dragged on until the autumn when the entire French army capitulated on condition of being conveyed to France with all its arms, artillery and baggage. The capitulation was signed just in time to save French honour; for immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, a British force under the command of Sir David Baird arrived from India by way of the Red Sea.

In *Copies of Original Letters from the Army of General Buonaparte in Egypt intercepted by the Fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Nelson*, Part II. published in 1799 in a footnote of curious interest. "One thing has struck us, in looking over these Letters. as a singularity not easily to be accounted for. It is, that midst the mass of correspondence which has fallen into our hands at different times, there should not be a single letter, no, not a single line, from any man in the ranks! The officers only write, the officers only pour out their sufferings and regrets to their friends; while the men who have been frequently on the point of mutinying, who have suffered hardships

which have driven thousands of them to deeds of desperation ; who have been betrayed, and led to disgrace and ruin through intolerable torments, remain wholly silent. How is this?"

But to go back a bit. The 10th (North Lincolnshire) Regiment arrived at Bengal on August 6 1799 and for fifteen months were stationed in Fort William. In November 1800, the regiment, with a battalion of 1200 Bengal Sepoys, (the historians are careful to state that they were all "volunteers,") and some Bengal Artillery, proceeded by boats down the Hooghly to the Sand Heads where they embarked on ships on December 11, sailing on January 6, 1801. Arriving at Trincomalee on January 13, they picked up the 80th Foot and sailed on February 15 for Point de Galle, where they anchored on February 18. Here they were reinforced by the 88th Foot and by two companies of the 86th Regiment, also by some more gunners. Part of the force reached Bombay on March 27 ; the remainder, owing to unfavourable winds, put into Goa for shelter. By the time they fetched up at Bombay one of the sepoy battalions was well on its way across the Arabian Sea.

Until the ships were due to leave Bombay the troops were unaware of their destination, but on sailing they were told. Escorted by the Romney they went in small divisions across the Arabian Sea to Jeddah ; although great care was exercised, yet, owing to the Red Sea being but little known, seventeen ships were lost, some of them being the finest in the fleet. The 10th Foot left Bombay in April 1801, arrived at Mocha on April 20. The force landed a Cosseir on May 17 where they gradually assembled with the 86th Foot from Malabar, two battalions of Sepoys from Bombay ; also the 61st Regiment, 8th Light Dragoons, and Horse Artillery from the Cape of Good Hope. On June 21 the whole division began its march across the desert of Thebes, a distance of 130 miles living on rice, digging their own wells en route but rationed to one pint of water per diem which was fortified with wine. The heat was intense, the kit worn unsuitable, and many died "in consequence of Coups de Soleil".

On the march the "skeletons of six British marines, having still the uniform and buttons of that corps on, "were discovered. How they got there was impossible to account for.

The 10th Regiment was lucky. "Five companies of the 80th and two of the 88th never reached Cosseir. They are supposed to have returned to India, as also a Battalion of Native Infantry," as the report has it.

Whether these seven companies of British soldiers ever returned to India is, apparently, not known. But in other ways the success of the Expedition reflects the utmost credit on Sir David Baird and his staff for but few men died from disease on the voyage. Those ships that had been employed in taking the boy regiments to South Africa—the 22nd, 34th, and 65th, also the 91st, where the death rate from scurvy averaged one third of the strength—were used for conveying the Indian forces up the Red Sea which seems to show that it was possible to look after men's health in those good old days, even if they seldom worried about it.

It is possible that as the 10th were proceeding on active service they left all their sickly men behind. In ordinary peace changes of station all the sick were taken out of hospital to go with their regiment. Shipp says there were five companies of the 10th when his regiment, the 22nd arrived at Calcutta in 1803. Official records mention the 78th as being in garrison ; that is corroborated by Samuel Plummer who wrote his book twenty years before Shipp. As however, Shipp is credited with having written the best book ever put on paper by a private soldier, he is worthy of credence.

It is from the *Memoirs of the Military Career of John Shipp*, and, *The Journal of Samuel Plummer, A Private in the 22nd Regiment of Foot*, that the best picture of life in Fort William during the early days of the XIXth Century can be obtained.

H. Manners Chichester wrote the introduction for Shipp's book. The son of a soldier, left an orphan at a very early age, Shipp became an inmate of the parish poorhouse, "whence he passed into the hands of a neighbouring farmer, one of those savage taskmasters only too common in the "good old times." His deliverance came in an unexpected fashion. In the early years of the French Revolutionary War the supply of recruits was far less certain than at a later stage. Partly as a recruiting experiment, partly to relieve the burthen of pauper boys between the ages of ten and sixteen who might be willing to enter for (unlimited) service in the army, three regiments of foot were ordered to be completed to a thousand rank and file each by enlisting boys of this description. One of the regiments was the 22nd (Cheshire) Regiment of Foot, which half a century later won much fame under the command of General Sir Charles Napier on the plains of Sind. The 22nd, on return from the West Indies in 1795, had been ordered to Colchester, to recruit ; and a Muster Roll, now in the War Office, shows that John Shipp was duly enlisted into that regiment on January 17, 1797."

A cavalry regiment was also raised to full strength by enlisting these young children but the scheme turned out a failure. Herding boys of tender age with rough, drunken men, resulted in most of them becoming vicious ; they failed to grow to any size in days when a soldier was expected to be big, and the 19th Light Dragoons were jeered at on that account. It was said that many of the troopers could not mount their chargers until the stirrups had been lowered to the last hole when they climbed, monkey-fashion, into their saddles. When these boy regiments arrived in India their short stature brought them into contempt. They were said to hold their regimental sports and play their cricket matches under the billiard table. A nickname was soon found—the "Dumpy Pice" that being a stub of copper which was still in vogue in the 'Eighties of last century in places like Gorackpore, and Chapra. The 19th Hussars still have recollections of their nickname of more than a century ago.

When the boys were enlisted into the 22nd they were clad in red from head to foot. Shipp appears to have been treated kindly by his captain who saw that he had some education. After serving in the Channel Islands the 22nd embarked at Portsmouth on board the *Surat Castle* East Indiaman, a 1500

ton ship, other divisions of the regiment leaving in various ships for the Cape of Good Hope. It was hoped that the lads might become more acclimatised by spending some time there before proceeding to India. Shipp gives a good idea of what conditions were like.

"The *Surat Castle* in which I was doomed to sail, was most dreadfully overcrowded ; men literally slept on one another, and in the orlop-deck the standing beds were three tiers high, besides those slinging. Added to this, the seed of a pestilential disease had already been sown. An immense number of Lascars, who had been picked up in every sink of poverty, and most of whom had been living in England in a state of the most abject want and wretchedness had been shipped on board this vessel. Many of these poor creatures had been deprived of their toes and fingers by the inclemency of the winter, and others had accumulated diseases from filth, many of them having subsisted for a considerable time upon what they picked up in the streets. The pestilential smell between decks was beyond the power of description ; and it was truly appalling to see these poor wretches, with tremendous and frightful sores, and covered with vermin from head to foot, many of them unable to assist themselves, left to die unaided, unfriended, and without one who could perform the last sad office. The moment the breath was out of their bodies, they were, like dogs thrown overboard as food for sharks. To alleviate their sufferings by personal aid was impossible, for we had scarcely men enough to work the ship. These circumstances were, I suppose, reported to the proper authority ; but, whether this was the case or not, in about three or four days we weighed anchor, with about sixty other ships for all parts of the world. The splendid sight but little accorded with the aching hearts, lacerated bodies, and wounded minds of the poor creatures below."

Shipp gives a sad account of the effect of a hurricane and when fine weather was reached, "our distresses were not yet at their height ; for, as though our miseries still required aggravation, the scurvy broke out among us in a most frightful manner. Scarcely a single individual on board escaped this melancholy disorder, and the swollen legs, and gums protuding beyond the lips, attested the malignancy of the visitation. The dying were burying the dead, and the features of all on board wore the garb of mourning.

"Every assistance and attention that humanity or generosity could dictate, was freely and liberally bestowed by the officers on board, who cheerfully gave up their fresh meat and many other comforts, for the benefit of the distressed ; but the pestilence baffled the aid of medicine and the skill of the medical attendants. My poor legs were as big as drums ; my gums swollen to an enormous size ; my tongue too big for my mouth ; and all I could eat was raw potatoes and vinegar. But my kind and affectionate officers sometimes brought me tea and coffee, at which the languid eye would brighten, and the tear of gratitude would intuitively fall, in spite of my efforts to repress what was thought unmanly I have seen poor men weep bitterly, they knew not why . . . Men died in dozens, and, ere their blood was cold, hurled into the briny deep, there to become a prey to sharks."

When the ship arrived at Cape Town it was placed in quarantine "but every comfort that humanity or liberality could dictate was immediately sent on board: fresh meats, bread, tea, sugar, coffee, and fruits of all kinds." Health soon came back to the survivors, they were carried to barracks being too weak to walk and were treated like delicate children.

(According to Barrow, the ships bringing the other "experimental" boy-regiments to the Cape, suffered in like manner from, "ship-fever." It affords a suggestive commentary on the transport-service of that time that the same ships, after they had been properly disinfected at the Cape, carried troops to Egypt without sickness.)

In 1801 orders were received to hand over the Cape to the Dutch. Their troops came from Java to take over and were much interested to see the British soldiers embark, or, as John Shipp put it, "to offer insults." "A huge brute sidled up to me, with his greasy mustaches, which he began to curl and twist between his forefinger and thumb, at the same time chucking me under the chin, and calling me a pretty boy. For this I took the liberty of saluting him with a kick on the shins, for which he attempted to seize my ears; but I fixed my bayonet—so he marched off. The following morning we embarked for India, on board a small American vessel that had been lying for a considerable time at the Cape."

As the ship could not do more than four knots and took in as much water as the captain took in grog, they were many months on the journey. After fetching up at Sumatra where fresh water was obtained, they made fair progress to Calcutta.

"On rounding the corner, or protuding neck of land, on which stands the company's botanical gardens, Fort William first appears; then Calcutta, with its numerous shipping, bursts upon the view, and the beholder gazes on the beautiful fortifications of the fort, and the city of palaces, with astonishment and delight. We passed the fort in full sail, and were hailed from its ramparts by the artillery, and part of the 10th regiment of foot, then in garrison there. We returned the welcome greeting with three loud cheers, and in five minutes after came to anchor off Esplanade Ghaut, after a voyage of more than five months."

"The instant the anchor was gone, boats were alongside, for the purpose of conveying the two companies ashore; and, in a couple of hours, we were safely lodged in our quarters at Fort William. Here the five companies of his majesty's 10th regiment of foot joined our lads, with bottles of rum, and a scene ensued that was beyond description; drinking, singing, dancing, shouting, fighting, and bottles flying in all directions. The sight was terrific; so I marched off to the bazaar (that would be the bazaar in the Fort.) 'to get out of the bustle; went round the fort and visited everything worth seeing. On my return to the barracks, I found the men lying in a state of the most disgusting drunkenness; some on the floor, others on cots, trunks or boxes."

Shipp states that he was then eighteen and a corporal. The regiment had left the Cape in September and November 1802, numbering 31 officers,

1055 N.C.O.'s and men, the last detachment arriving at Fort William in February 1803. Two flank companies were sent soon after arrival to Cuttack where they fought against two powerful chieftains, Dowlat Rao Scindia, and Jesmunt Rao Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, distinguishing themselves at the capture of the Fort of Barrabatta. The supply of necessaries was apparently of the worst description, but when the two companies returned to head quarters, the colours captured by them, and the 9th and 19th Native Infantry "were publicly displayed and afterwards lodged in Fort William."

Shipp gives this further information about the life of a soldier in Fort William:—

"On the arrival of troops it had been the custom to stop from each soldier of his majesty's army, eight rupees ; but to what purpose, strange to say, they were never told. This deduction had been made from the pay of our two companies without any explanation ; and as the men were now proceeding on active service, it was but right and natural that they should desire to know (as we had been accustomed in the regiment) why any part of this pay was withheld from them. They called upon their officers for explanation, who were as much in the dark as themselves. The greater part of the two companies then marched, in a sober deliberate manner, towards Major General Sir Hughes Bailey's quarters, to seek redress. Here they were given to understand that the sum of eight rupees was customary to be stopped from each soldier, to insure him a decent burial. This explanation only added fuel to flame, and excited in the hearts of the men few of whom, poor fellows ! ever wanted burial, as will be seen in the sequel of this narrative—the most bitter rancour against such a custom. The men returned to the barracks ; liquor was resorted to to feed the spark already kindled in their bosoms ; till at length they became bent upon open rebellion and mutiny. This spirit of disaffection was manifested most strongly in the grenadier company. Both companies were dotingly fond of their officers, who took great pains to explain to them that violent measures, and taking the law into their own hands, would never be likely to get their wrongs redressed ; but that, on the contrary those very acts deprived them of the power of interceding for them, and explaining to the proper authorities the grounds of their complaints. This timely explanation had its due effect, and *we* one and all (I mean the light company) said, "March us before the enemy, that we may wipe out this our first disobedience ;" but those who had drank deeper of the poisonous cup of rebellion, in the grenadier company, were still unappeased, and spreading wide the infectious sparks of mutiny ; so much so, that the officers were called in to quell them. Their colonel they loved dearly—he was a father to his men ; the adjutant they hated. On the arrival of the former, the men became passive, and the tumult was hushed ; but, when the latter appeared, the shouting of, "Kick him out !"—"Turn him out !" resounded through the barracks, and he had a narrow escape for his life. When he had left, the tumult again ceased : the men retired to their cots ; and, in an hour, all was silent as the grave. The next morning the eight rupees were refunded ; and, on the morning following, we left the fort, with the band of the regiment playing us through the streets of Calcutta,

where we were met and hailed by all assembled. Every face smiled with joy ; every breast beat high for glory."

From John Shipp's story one gathers that the officers of the 22nd Regiment were humane gentlemen, who took a genuine interest in the welfare of their men.

A short time ago an officer commanding a regiment stationed in Fort William asked if any explanation could be given about a demand made by a time-expired soldier leaving India for his "coffin money." Apparently the injustice of this piracy on the soldiers' pay has rankled for a century which seems to show that injustice, which is cruelty to the mind, can bear compound interest. .

John Shipp's subsequent career was remarkable. He found himself, "in the year 1804, a young sergeant in the Grenadier company, which was detached with the grand army under Lord Lake fighting against the Mahrattas. He was one of the stormers at the capture of Deig, on December 24, and led the forlorn-hope of the storming column in three out of four desperate, but unsuccessful, assaults on Bhurtpore in January-February, 1805, receiving severe wounds upon each occasion. Lord Lake rewarded his daring with an ensigncy in the 65th Foot. A few weeks later he was promoted lieutenant in the 76th Foot, both commissions being dated March 10, 1805. With the 76th Shipp returned home in 1807 ; but he speedily found himself in pecuniary difficulties, (to the extent of £35) and sold out of the army on March 19, 1808. His commissions having been given "without purchase," he was only entitled to £100 for each twelve months of actual commissioned service abroad, and £50 for like period at home, up to the full value—£700. with the small sum so realised, he paid his debts, and soon after found himself alone in London, without a shilling in the world."

"Seeing no reason why he should not rise again as he had done before, Shipp enlisted into the 24th Light Dragoons, and returned to India to join that regiment ; and in the course of a few years rose to the position of regimental serjeant-major. In 1815 he was appointed by the Marquis of Hastings (Earl of Moria), then Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India, to an ensigncy in the 87th Princes Own Irish, better known under its later name of the 87th Royal Irish Fusileers, the first battalion of which landed at Calcutta from Mauritius in August of that year. Shipp's commission bore the original date of the vacancy, May 4, 1815 ; but by an omission, then not uncommon in the case of Indian appointments, he was not gazetted at home until some time later, and his name never appeared in the Army List until May, 1819. Shipp had thus twice won a commission from the ranks by the time he was little more than thirty years old—an achievement which may be regarded as unique in the annals of the British Army."

As a subaltern in the 87th (Prince's Own Irish) Regiment (now the Royal Irish Fusiliers) John Shipp, with other officers and men of the regiment, was thanked by the Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, for meritorious conduct in the endeavour to stop a fire in the Garrison Dispensary, Fort

William, on September 17, 1821. The Governor-General also presented each officer with a silver cup while Dr. McWhirter, whose house adjoined the Dispensary, presented a handsome piece of silver plate to the Officers Mess. Up to a few years ago the Royal Irish Fusiliers had John Shipp's cup and it is most probably in their possession today.

In the *Journal of Samuel Plummer, a Private in the 22nd Regiment of Foot* a man serving in the regiment at the time of John Shipp, no reference is made to the thousand boys, most of whom had probably grown up by the time he joined. Plummer enlisted on Christmas Day 1800, went home, took leave of his 'unhappy parents' promised his mother that he would keep a journal, which was "edited by the Rev. John Riles," and published in 1821—twenty two years before Shipp's reminiscences saw the light.

Plummer's detachment sailed for the Cape of Good Hope on April 9th 1801. "We embarked on board the Cornwall, South Sea-man ; sailed from Gravesend and arrived at Portsmouth on the 20th." In his description of the voyage we come across another of those incidents which throw a queer light on the standard of courage of those days. He relates, "the second mate, in taking out the top of a liquor cask, unfortunately let the candle fall into the rum, which was soon in a blaze. The flames communicated with the straw in the hold, and came furiously up the hatchway. What rendered our situation awful was, the fire was making its way to the powder-magazine, which was only secured by a few deal planks. Every means was made use of to quench the fire, but with little prospect of success ; and we were all expecting every moment that the ship would blow up, and plunge us into an eternal world. The officers were preparing to jump overboard, and swim for their lives, though there was but little prospect of escaping death, as many sharks were seen about the ship, as if waiting for a meal. When the destruction seemed inevitable, an American black volunteered his service to throw water into the cask of rum. He went through the flames with a blanket round him, saturated with water ; he accomplished his object, and received but little injury. We then began to throw water into the hold, and providentially extinguished the flames."

Plummer was a religious man who cultivated the pious habit of striving to convert his comrades and spending his spare time in praying and singing hymns in any quiet place he could find. He "went and sat upon the cathead of the ship. I prayed, but was so confused, that I do not recollect what I prayed for."

To do justice to him it must be remembered that the editor was a padre who, beyond delighting in merciless Fate overwhelming sinners had no taste himself for danger but the incident does make one feel that the standard of fortitude was not what we are so often told is a British heritage.

"Jan. 15 1803. We dropped anchor in Soggor Roads, and the next day a pilot came on board, and we sailed into the mouth of the river, and cast our anchor in Diamond Harbour. We went on board a large sloop, and sailed about 100 miles up the river, and anchored off Fort William."

"Jan. 19. We disembarked, and marched into the Fort, near Calcutta. Being a newly arrived regiment, very strict orders were given that we should be closely confined in the barracks during the day, in order to avoid the excessive heat of the sun. Though we had natives to clean, cook, and do everything for us, and lived well; yet the men began to look pale and emaciated. We were dressed in white nankeen jackets, loose trowsers, and white gaiters. We were allowed the privilege of walking round the inside of the fort from six to eight o'clock in the evening; and from five in the morning till nine; but no one was allowed to go into Calcutta, unless upon very urgent business. The European sentries were always relieved by the Seapoys during the day. There were a great number of hawks flying about, which were very mischievous and troublesome to the cooks, in carrying the provisions backward and forward. The rats here are numerous, live in holes in the earth, and run about like rabbits. We received particular orders not to molest or injure the pelicans, because they destroyed the rats, which they generally swallow whole. In consequence of the heat, and the close confinement to barracks, the men fell sick, and very soon, there were 300 men in the hospital, where the ravages of death were very great. The 78th regiment of foot was lying here, with whom we soon became acquainted."

Plummer was in one of the two companies sent on service to Ganjam. They travelled by sea, landed there and endured very great hardships during the month of September and did some severe fighting, and in the following month of March arrived "opposite to Calcutta, and on March 22nd crossed the river Ganges. One man said, "Friend Plummer, how weather-beaten you look." which in a way tells how pallid were those who had spent their time in Fort William.

"December 19, 1804. We marched through Calcutta, and gave the Governor General a salute, and then crossed the river Ganges, and encamped at Salkee Ghat." which looks as if all the regiments going upcountry did not march through Barrackpore and get on to the Grand Trunk Road from there.

After considerable fighting upcountry, and having marched "within 27 miles of Persia" the regiment eventually found itself in "Cornpore" and came down the river in boats, On April 23 1897 "We came to Berhampoor where we went into very beautiful barracks."

In Aug. 1810 the 22nd were ordered to the Isle of France proceeding to sea on September 16 on board the *Hugh Inglis*. "Many of the men were sick, whom we visited, prayed with them and read the word of life. . . . On our passage two brethren died happy in the Lord. Many of the sick died." From that, and from other sources, it appears that when a regiment was on the move, all the sick were taken out of hospital to go with it.

After the capture of the island he states "The French had taken part of the 24th regiment of foot' (who were on their way to Fort William) prisoners at sea, and kept them on board a large ship called the *United Kingdom*. One hundred and seventy men of this regiment had enlisted into the French army, and fought against us in taking the island. We had them all taken

prisoners and some of them were hung." which seems hard lines on those who were the victims of misfortune.

In an earlier part of his book he refers to a series of visits paid to a man in hospital in Calcutta. He asked to have "a little milk and bread, which he at greedily, leaned himself back in the bed, and expired without a groan. The Colonel of the regiment gave liberty to all his serious friends to follow him to the grave, where we sang a hymn of his own choosing." Two features of that story are of interest—the casual way that men were treated in hospital, and the fact that it was a privilege to attend a funeral.

It is gratifying to know that worthy Samuel Plummer completed twenty years of service and lived to see his native land again, for it is recorded that he was "discharged as an out-door pensioner on the 22nd March 1820.

—*To be continued.*

H. HOBBS.

“Shamsuddaulah’s intrigues against the English

THAT a dangerous conspiracy had been set on foot against the English in Bengal during the last years of the 18th century is not generally known, and is not even alluded to by any modern writer. As a matter of fact, even the published correspondence and despatches of the period contain only a very casual mention of it, and do not enable one to form a correct idea of the secret ramifications of the aforesaid conspiracy, or to appreciate the gravity of the danger therefrom. Fortunately for students of Indian History, some very valuable information on this subject is now available from an old and genuine copy of a contemporary letter written by Mr. N. B. Edmonstone to Lord Teignmouth, which has been recently purchased from a private source by Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji of the Lucknow University for the U. P. Historical Society. The letter is extremely long and the whole of it need not be reproduced here, as the greater part of it deals with Wazir Ali’s conspiracy and rebellion in Oudh. The portion relating to Shamsuddaulah’s intrigues in Bengal is quoted below, and it is hoped that it will be welcomed by all students of the history of this period.

The historical importance of this letter can not be over-exaggerated. Firstly, the writer of the letter was an old and distinguished member of the company’s service in India, and was Persian Translator to the Government under Sir John Shore, and Wellesley. He was thus a very well-informed official, and had full access to Government records. His account therefore can not be dismissed as a fanciful story.

Secondly, he had been in Bengal for a long time, and was personally aware of the violent intentions of Shamsuddaulah and his friends, and therefore he could write from personal knowledge.

Thirdly, as Lord Wellesley had himself desired this letter to be shown to Dundas, it is clear that the letter had the approval of the Governor-General.

Fourthly, the letter elucidates the interdependence of the secret conspiracies simultaneously started by Wazir Ali in Oudh, and Shamsuddaulah in Bengal along with Zaman Shah of Kabul and others.

Fifthly, it throws valuable light on the intrigues of the people of Muscat with the French, and Shamsuddaulah.

Lastly, in the printed correspondence of Lord Teignmouth, the latter’s reply to this letter is available (*vide* Vol. II, p. 8), but this letter itself is not included. The students of the history of this period were so far in the dark

about this letter, hence its publication is bound to be welcome to those who are interested in this matter.

The facts of the Bengal Conspiracy may be thus outlined:—(i) It was during Shore's time that Shamsuddaulah, the ambitious brother-in-law of the Nawab of Murshidabad, actively planned the overthrow of the Company's rule in Bengal.

(ii) Having somehow been warned of the dangerous character of Shamsuddaulah, Shore was obliged to order the removal of the latter from Murshidabad to Dacca, but it appears that the intrigue was not stopped thereby.

(iii) Shamsuddaulah was only the ostensible leader of the conspiracy, the principal man behind the scene was the Nawab of Murshidabad himself!

(iv) A number of zemindars happened to be won by the conspirators, and these selfish barons were ready to help in the overthrow of the English.

(v) A secret league was established by the Bengal party with Wazir Ali, the ex-Nawab of Oudh, who too conspired against the English, and ultimately murdered his English keeper at Benares, and raised the standard of revolt.

(vi) Zaman Shah of Kabul was approached in the name of religion by these conspirators in a common cause against the English, and for internal troubles in Afghanistan the projected invasion from the North-West Frontier did not fully materialise.

(vii) Shamsuddaulah was further in touch with the influential people of Muscat, and through them with the French also.

It is not difficult to understand why the conspiracy ultimately ended in smoke. Firstly, the rebellion of Wazir Ali in Oudh was a sufficient warning to the Company. Secondly, the major part of the secret correspondence of Shamsuddaulah with Zaman Shah was intercepted at Benares after the flight of Wazir Ali. Thirdly, the ignominious failure of Wazir Ali's rebellion shattered the hopes of the Bengal party, and compelled Shamsuddaulah to make a confession of his schemes. Fourthly, the abrupt departure of Napoleon from Egypt lulled the ambitions of the anti-English sections in Asia. Fifthly, the troubles in Afganistan prevented Zaman Shah from attacking the English. Lastly, the strict and prompt measures of Wellesley made any outbreak in Bengal totally impossible.

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An Extract from the letter from Mr. N. B. Edmonstone to Lord Teignmouth, dated Madras, 18th May, 1799.

" In the month of December 1798, a secret agent of his (1) arrived at Calcutta whose ostensible commission appears to have been in the first instance to ascertain the opinion of the principal Europeans and Natives with respect to Vizier Alli's deposal, and to pave the way for an appeal to the

(1) Wazir Ali's.

Legislature of Great Britain against your Lordship's measures. But from the tenor of this agent's Letters there is every reason to believe that his Commission was more extensive. They exhibit a scene of dark intrigue, and though wild and desultory in language and import, were calculated to convey impressions very injurious to the interests of the Company. However insufficient this agent may appear from the style of his Letters, the tenor of his negotiations sufficiently demonstrates the sinister views of his Employer.

Among the papers found at Madhoo Dass's Garden (2) was an original Letter from Shamsoo-Dowlah (3) addressed to Zemaun Shah earnestly entreating him by the tenets of his Religion to prosecute his Expedition to Hindoostan with the view of extirpating the English whom he reviles with great bitterness, at the same time representing the conquest of their Territories as a task of little difficulty and referring him for the means of its accomplishment to the verbal communications of his agent the bearer of the Letter. The discovery of this Letter was deemed a sufficient ground for apprehending Shamsoo-Dowlah and care being taken to seize his papers proofs of further conspiracies were found against him. By some of these documents it appears that he had employed Agents to excite a general insurrection within the provinces and particularly in Behar when a favourable season should offer for realizing the project he had formed of obtaining for himself or the Nabob Naussir ool Moolk (4) the effective Soobadarry (5) of three Provinces. In the Province of Behar he appears to have been very successful; a great many Zemindars having pledged themselves to support his views to the utmost of their power. Among them your Lordship will be surprized to find the name of Mitter Jeet Sing (6). In consequence of the information afforded by these Documents, Shams oo Dowlah's agents were likewise seized with their Papers, which not only confirmed the foregoing information but proved (what indeed was already but too apparent) that Shamsoo Dowlah was only the ostensible head of the conspiracy, and that Naussir ool Moolk was the person whom it was intended should be placed on the Musnud. It further appears from these papers that Shamsoo Dowlah's embassy to Zemaun Shah took place in the first part of the year 1797 and that the intrigue with the Zemindars set on foot prior to November 1796. There is however the best ground to believe that both these Plans were projected about the same time and that the period of their origin was, when your Lordship issued Orders for his removal from Moorshedabad to Dacca. This is the more probable, as the violent opposition of interests created at Moorshedabad by the misconduct and contumacy of the Nabob, which obliged Government to repress the aspiring views of the latter by supporting the influence of the Munny Begum (7) and by banishing Shamsud Dowlah may naturally be supposed to have excited in the minds

(2) At Benares.

(3) Shams ud Dowlah.

(4) Nasir ul Mulk of Murshidabad.

(5) Subahdari i.e. Vice-royalty.

(6) Mitrajit Singh, a zemindar of Bihar.

(7) Guardian of the Nawab.

of the Nabob and Shamsoo Doulah a spirit of enmity and revenge against the British Government.

It is certain that Shamsoo Doulah's agent did not prosecute his journey towards Caubul (8) farther than Lucknow. The cause is unknown, but probably originated in the change of affairs which took place on the death of the late Vizier and in the detention of Zemaun Shah that season within his own dominions by domestic troubles.

From the circumstances of Shamsoo Doulah's Letter to Zemaun Shah and the papers belonging to his agent, being found among those of Vizier Alli, it is reasonable to conjecture that Vizier Alli and Shamsoo Doulah acted in concert, or at least that they were privy to each other's plans: but of this no direct proof has been obtained. Certain however it is that the expected maturity of their respective schemes depended upon the successful progress of Zemaun Shah, in his invasion of Hindostan.

The papers of Shamsoo Doulah lay open yet another intrigue in which he appears to have engaged with the Government of Muscat. The papers upon this subject consist of Letters addressed to Naussir ool Moolk and Shamsoo Doulah by Shaikh Khulfaun the Viceroy of Muscat, his son and others—of these Letters, all which appear to have been written at the same time, one or two are dated in October 1796. The contents evidently shew that some negotiation was on foot detrimental to the interests of the British nation; but they afford no insight into the nature of it. Whatever it was, it appears (though it can not be affirmed) to have originated with the people of Muscat. The expressions in these Letters are cautious and obscure and all particulars are referred to the verbal communications of the person deputed to Bengal to conduct the negotiation. The visit to Calcutta of Shaikh Syf, a relation either of the Imaum's, or of Khulfaun's, which your Lordship will remember to have taken place (I believe) in the early part of 1796, is mentioned in all the Letters and the object of it is stated to have been ostensibly for the purpose of seeing your Lordship and the principal persons at Calcutta; but really to communicate with Shamsoo Doulah and Naussir ool Moolk. The most probable conjecture is that this negotiation was originally set on foot by the French. Your Lordship will perhaps recollect that prior to the visit of Shaikh Syf, information was received at Calcutta of the arrival of French Deputies at Muscat. This circumstance tends to corroborate the above conjecture."

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI.

(8) Kabul.

Through the Santal Rising 1855-56

(Being reminiscences of Mrs. R. E. Barton Jones, resident to Birbhoom.)

The following extracts from the Reminiscences of the Santal Insurrection, 1855, are taken from the manuscript letter of Mrs. R. E. Barton Jones, who recorded these notes during the latter years of her life. They have been kindly communicated by Mr. Charles A. Dobson, Educational Officer, Holkar State, Chiman Bagh, Indore, son of the writer. These reminiscences show a degree of mutual trust and friendliness between Europeans and Indians, which successfully withstood and lightened the trials of these troublesome months.

Our family was then resident at Beerbhoom, and consisted of Father, our Mother, two grown up young women, their daughters, viz. myself and sister, and five little children. I leave it, therefore, to the imagination to depict the consternation into which we were thrown when it became an assured fact that the quiet, guileless, and more than friendly Santal folk had suddenly become a furious maniacal mob, murdering, plundering, and recklessly destroying all that came within their reach. Planters, zamindars, and private individuals, whether Hindu, Moslem, or European all were ruthlessly butchered, and all they possessed devoted to utter destruction.

A life of peace and security had rendered all of us careless of danger, knowing how much our parents were respected and loved by all classes. We were soon shaken out of our false repose, and reproached ourselves with bitter regret for not having given heed to the many and frequent warnings we had from the authorities, and other friends who had spoken forcibly of our misplaced confidence in these honest but semi-savage people. While these betook themselves to places of safety, we and few others as foolishly trustful as ourselves kept on the even tenor of our way, confident and peaceful.

Alas! this did not continue very long. One evening a near neighbour, who had shared our confidence, burst into the house with a face of such horror and despair as to fill our hearts with vague fears scarcely less than his.

"Fly, for God's sake, fly: There is no time to be lost.

They are in force on the other side of the river. They may cross over any moment. Scores of their victims, wounded or killed out-right are being brought in. They spare none. Fly: For the children's sake, fly! If you had seen what I have witnessed you would not hesitate a moment. My horse is ready. I am off!"

On being asked where he was going, he said, "I cannot tell. Some place far from the murderous reach of these friends."

And then he was gone.

For a moment we looked at each other in hopeless anguish, and then Father said, "Let us commend ourselves to God, and ask His guidance". How he poured out his soul in prayer for us all. Then rising he calmly told us to put a few things together for a hasty journey. Calling the only servant, who being childless had not gone to hasten the flight of his family, Father consulted him as to some means of conveyance. While he went out to secure this we packed a few necessary articles, and some food for the children.

About an hour after, the man returned, sad and crest-fallen, saying that all he could get were two bullock carts, *dumnis*, as all were flying with their families, and would not come for any consideration. With something very like despair in our hearts at the thought of the very slow progress we should make, we almost made up our minds to remain where we were, but Father overruled this, simply altering the destination. Instead of making for Burdwan, as intended, he decided that our first step should be in an opposite direction, and to the house of an old Zamindar, who would do his best to keep us secluded till there was a lull in the storm, and more rapid means of conveyance could be obtained to remove us out of the district altogether. Father said that he would then accompany us but he deemed it wiser to stay back himself for the present, watch the course of events, and prepare for the longer journey that he at first had had in contemplation.

With all our haste we were not able to leave before the small hours of the morning, but as the savages were feasting and making merry across the river, we had time enough to reach our retreat. After an hour or so we left the high road, and cut across jungles of sal wood and scrub. For the time our hearts were more at rest regarding the Sontals. Still having but a small escort, self-tormenting dread often shrank in horror at the sounds we heard from wild beasts that abound in these districts.

As through the night so also the next day we were in much fear, anxiety, and the utter distress of the poor little ones. Thank God by nightfall we arrived at our destination, and were most kindly and warmly received by the gallant old Zemindar. His own office was entirely given over to our use. This was a large room with a spacious verandah all round, adjoining his own dwelling, and fitted with every convenience, and with due regard to privacy. We could not have been more comfortable else where.

One bright morning on awaking we were conscious of a silence and a gloom impending over us. Not only had the old man not come to pay his usual genial morning call, but we saw him officially dressed, and with a gloomy brow betake himself to his public outdoor business place, kept prepared for the purpose, except during the Rains, under a magnificent banyan tree. A large number of his people were in attendance, and Oh! the cold clutch at our hearts there were two or three Sontals armed with bows and arrows amongst them awaiting the Zemindar.

One of our most astute servants was sent by us dressed as a coolie to mingle among the men unobserved, to hear and learn all that was being

discussed. Half an hour later all dispersed and our man returned cautiously and unseen. Mother, then, after learning all particulars immediately sent him off for whatever conveyance could be obtained, and set us at work to pack up our few belongings.

Meanwhile our host continued sad and in gloomy reverie, and we had to send asking him to come to us. This he did with slow reluctant steps, then seating himself, and putting his hands together, said,

"I am dying of shame and humiliation, but so long as I and mine live to protect you, no harm shall come to you".

"What has happened?" said my Mother. "I saw some armed Santals, and I fear our presence has brought you trouble."

"Yes, the men in a body have been incited to kill us all, but those who came are friends, and wished to warn us. They will try to delay the attack. Remove to our private dwelling into the zenana, and we shall defend all to our utmost, and with our lives".

As I happened to be the only one in the family who was able to converse fluently in Hindustani, I was a great favourite with the old gentleman. He used to pass some hours daily talking to me, especially as I was always ready to give him any information he asked for, and also helped him to understand my Mother's very indifferent Hindustani. There was in consequence a very warm friendly feeling between us. The poor man's distress was genuine, and we were all much touched by it.

To proceed, in an hour between 10 and 11 a.m. we were on our way back, and God forbid we should ever again endure the horrors of another such journey. Rumours being afloat that the military were coming, and would make Beerbhoom their Head-quarters, the insurgents did not enter that town, but passing by the outskirts had already gone over the very roads we were taking. They left behind them to mark their savage track homeless Hindus some killed outright, some wounded, and household goods scattered all along their route as being too cumbersome to take. Husbands looking for their wives and children, frantic women rushing about seeking for their children and husbands, loud and piercing wails and shrieks announcing that the search for some had ended among the dead or wounded, through the midst of all these terrifying sights and sounds we made our slow and painful way.

This devastating tornado of human passions had over-whelmed the places we were going over sometime during the small hours of the night, while at the time we were on the road it must have been between two and three in the afternoon. But for God's Infinite Mercy delaying the knowledge of this we might have left too early, and just in time to fall into the clutches of the very maddened people we were so eager to avoid. What the result would have been it was not different to guess with the fearful scenes around us.

In the mean while the savages were busy sacking the very place we left, though, thank God, not before our late good host and family were in full retreat, and making good their escape. He and his got off with life and limb. However a venture—some brother and some retainers remained till later

saying that they would not move till they were surer of real danger. They neatly paid for their temerity with their lives, for almost before they were aware the Sontals were on them, and it was only fleetness of their horses that enabled them to escape with their lives though all were more or less wounded.

As for the brother of our host, be it said to his credit, finding that he had been the means of drawing his small retinue into this danger, he insisted on seeing all away before he himself attempted to escape. As a consequence one of the enemy managed to get near enough to him to be able to throw a heavy axe—*tanji*—used in fighting at him just as he mounted. By swerving in his saddle the stroke meant for his back bit into his shoulder, and for a moment rendered him almost helpless. Providentially, at the same moment an almost spent arrow pierced his horse's flank. The maddened animal needed neither whip nor spur, galloped off at full speed till man and horse were beyond reach of the savages. Some arrows had followed wounding both, but as the distance was already great they inflicted some slight flesh wounds which did not other harm than cause some loss of blood. Thus he arrived alive, it is true, but reeling in his saddle from the consequent weakness. I am thankful to say he recovered, and all escaped with their lives.

How glad we were to think that we had not remained a bit longer and so have hampered their movements and Oh! how thankful we were to God for His great Goodness to us all in preserving us from the threatened danger. Father decided that after such signal mercies it would be a tempting of Providence to continue among such perils when we might leave them for a place of security. He had no call of duty to remain on so could leave with a clear conscience. In a day or two finding the way open we left, safely reaching Birdwan, and finally, Calcutta. There this incident ends.

While these troubles were harassing Beerbhum and its environs, laying waste many a homestead, and while not a few murders were being perpetrated among the poor peasantry, more it would appear from a spirit of destructiveness than any thing else, a far greater and more terrible tragedy was being enacted at Rajmahal and its outlying stations.

At the time each place was so taken up with its own horrors, believing itself and its surroundings to be the only victims of the outbreak that no thought was given to other places which were believed to be in perfect security. It was thus many weeks before we were aware of the death of a very near relative and his only children, two sons grown up to years of promising manhood."

Note. The near relative referred to above were Mr. Henshawe and his two sons mentioned on page 19, *Bengal Past & Present* January—March 1936.

More Monumental Inscriptions

PART V

IN December 1936 I visited Sardhana, the Begam Sombre's former capital, and Delhi, in search of new light upon the European military adventurers and their families.

I spent the 4th December at Sardhana, a place which has been thoroughly investigated by historians from Keene onwards. I did not therefore expect to find anything new there, nor will I repeat here the story of the Begam or of her Palace and Church there. Mr. Brajendranath Banerji in his *Begam Samru* has covered a great deal of the ground once and for all.

The cemetery was taken over by the Archaeological Department about four years ago, and when I went there the Constructional Assistant of the Department from Agra was busy planning new works of conservation and restoration. The resident caretaker, formerly maintained by the Roman Catholic authorities, is now in the pay of the Archaeological Department. This burial-ground evidently suffered from entire lack of attention for many years in the nineteenth century, with the result that most of the marble and stone slabs have been removed from the tombs by unauthorised persons. Many imposing tombs are now entirely nameless and unidentifiable. A striking feature is the number of Muslim-pattern tombs. We had seen this at the Padre Santos cemetery at Agra, but at Sardhana it was even more marked. No doubt many of the Begam's officers took wives who, like the Begam herself, were of Muslim origin.

I took Sir E. A. H. Blunt's *List of Christian Tombs in the United Provinces* with me, and found that he had included in it correct versions of most of the monumental inscriptions in the Sardhana cemetery. The only material error in his list is the age of Carlo Mutti, (no. 47 in his list) which he gives as 34: it should be 64. The burial register, which I saw, also has 64. Carlo Mutti had a son, Andre, who was a godson of the Begam. She left him Rs. 5,000 in her will, and Rs. 4,000 to "Sunjee lun" (? Sangi Jan) his wife.

Nearby is a group of Reghelini graves, the epitaphs on which are not given by Sir E. Blunt. The inscriptions are:—

1831. Regina, relict of Capt. Pasqual Reghelini and only daughter of Capt. Mutti, died 5 July 1884, aged 63, leaving children.

(Pasqual Reghelini was son of Major Antonio Reghelini, the Italian officer from Vicenza—not Padua as stated in the books—who was the Begam's last commander-in-chief and also architect of her Palace and Church. He married Mutti's daughter on 16 Feb. 1835, and they had a daughter on 19 Nov. following. Regina must I think have been

daughter of Andre Mutti the son, not Carlo Mutti the father. Another link of the Muttis with military adventurers was the marriage of Edward Butterfield in 1850 with Mary Mutti (*Bengal : Past & Present*, vol. XLII, p. 97).

1832. Hic clauduntur exuviae Joannis Baptistae Reghelini qui effraenato equo dejectus exanimatus fuit aetate an. X mens. III di. XX AN. DMI. 1829.
 1833. His requiescit Santo Reghelini ex hac vita decessit etate (*sic*) mensim V dies VIII A.D. 1814.
 1834. Hic depositus est in memoria Jouanna (*sic*) Reghelini qua ad coelestia regna migravit A.D. 1815 etate (*sic*) mensium V atque dierum XII.
 1835. Hic sepultus est Josepus Reghelini etate (*sic*) mensi V atque dies III A.D. 1821.

These are four children of Major Antonio Reghelini's who died in infancy. Beside their tombs is a larger one which is very probably their father's.

Sir E. Blunt does not record the M. I. of three natural children of D. O. Dyce Sombre's. These read as follows:—

1836. To the memory of Josephine [illegible—read Urbana] Dyce, born May [14, 1824], died May 8, 1835. [Her mother was the Musalmani, Husna].
 1837. To the memory of Walter George Christopher Spencer Dyce, born 19 Nov. 1832, died 20 May 1833.
 1838. To the memory of Laura Celestine Rosalia Dyce, born Sept. 17, 1834, died May 1, 1825. [Her mother was the Christian, Dominga].

I had previously known of the two girls from entries in Dyce Sombre's diary and from other papers printed for the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of *Dyce Sombre against Troup, Solaroli (intervening), and Prinsep, and the Honourable East India Company (also intervening)*. Mrs. Troup, Dyce Sombre's sister, said in her deposition: "My brother had two girls from the Begam's zenana; one a Mohamedan, named Hoosna; the other a Roman Catholic, named Dominga. He had two children by each. Their names were Josephine, Laura, Penelope; the other was a boy. Three died in infancy; Penelope died on board ship, a girl" (vol. II, p. 531). Penelope Dyce Sombre died on board the *Duke of Buccleugh* Indiaman, at the Sandheads, on or about 23 February 1838, being then in charge of Major and Mrs. Herring whom Dyce Sombre had commissioned to take her to England (vol. II, pp. 500-501). Of Josephine her putative father noted in his diary that she was born, of Husna, on 14 May 1834 and died 8 May 1835, being buried at Sardhana. "One of my brothers monument stone is near the place where she is interred, and he was 11 months and 22 days old, and she was almost the same age". I saw this epitaph of the brother of Dyce Sombre's: it reads:—

1839. Sacred to the memory of George Archibald Dyce who departed this life Monday July XXII in the year of our Lord MDCCCXI aged XI months and XXII days.

The father, Colonel G. A. D. Dyce, had two children who died in infancy, a boy and a girl (deposition of Capt. J. R. Troup, vol. II, p. 504 *et seq.*)

There were only two more legible M. I. at Sardhana which Sir E. Blunt has not printed :—

1840. To the memory of Thomas Sharpless Brown who departed this life January the 31st 1803 aged 26 years. (Also a Persian inscription. There is another nameless grave on the same plinth. Surely an Englishman who died at Sardhana before the Maratha War broke out, and thus before the British came to those parts, must have been a military adventurer?)
1841. Mary Isabella, infant daughter of Elizabeth and P. Sexton, 6th Bn. Artillery, died June 11, 1854, aged 2 years 2 months 3 days.

At the Begam's palace, now occupied by a school under the charge of Father Anthony, O.C. (to whose kindness and courtesy I was much indebted during my visit to Sardhana) I found that, despite the general belief that all the Begam's pictures had been removed from Sardhana, there is still one of them there. This is an oil-painting of the Begam seated, with two Indian servants standing beside her. It was a dark day, and the picture was hung ten feet or more from the ground, so I was unable to inspect the picture closely ; but it should repay investigation.

At the Church Fr. Anthony showed us the chalice presented by the Begam—made in Lyons, and of solid gold embellished with enamel medallions. This is the chalice the presentation of which is commemorated both in the painting reproduced in Sir Evan Cotton's monograph on *The Sardhana Pictures* and in the altorelievo marble carving at the foot of the Begam's tomb. We also saw two reliquaries sent by the Pope to the Begam.

Fr. Anthony kindly permitted me to see several old parish registers, but the crabbed writing and contracted Latin of the earlier entries were difficult to cope with. Nearly all the entries related to Indian Christians ; but I found a record of the marriage, at Sardhana on 4 February, 1828, of George Thomas, son of Jacob Thomas and Domenica, to Anna, daughter of Joachim. This is the man whom I have called George Thomas III in my articles in *Bengal : Past & Present*, vol. XLI, p. 143, and vol. XLIX, p. 84. So the George Thomas who married a Pedron must have been II or IV, not III.

THE KISHANGANJ CEMETERY AT DELHI

I had long wished for an opportunity of visiting the old Roman Catholic cemetery at Delhi, just beyond Kishanganj on the Rohtak road ; and now, on 6th December 1936, I was able to do so. I took with me Sir Miles Irving's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in the Punjab &c.* (1905), in

which he gives a number of monumental inscriptions from this burial-ground, which he calls the "Deremao cemetery" after the Deremao family of military adventurers whose tombs occupy the most prominent position in it. (I have dealt with the Deremaos in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, vol. I, part II, pp. 155-171—December 1932). At the date Sir Miles Irving compiled this list the old cemetery was in a state of considerable disrepair, being used by villagers as a cattle pen (1). It was taken over some years by the Government, and is now in excellent order, with a resident caretaker. In the process of restoration a number of inscriptions not recorded by Sir Miles Irving have evidently come to light, some being in a marvellous state of preservation having regard to their age and the climate. The languages represented include Latin, Portuguese, French, English, Persian and Armenian ; but I was not qualified to deal with the last two, and it is probable that here also there are finds to be made.

The earliest M. I. recorded by Sir Miles Irving was that of one Masih, probably an Indian convert to Christianity, who died on 10th January 1782 ; and this he stated to be "the oldest Christian monument in the Punjab". This must now yield pride of place to two other epitaphs which I found there :—

1842. AQUI YAZ MARIA / MULHER DE MONT / EYRO ANNO D
1781 / P. AVM.

(Here lies Maria wife of Monteyro (died) in the year of Our Lord 1781. P. AVM.=Pater Ave Maria.)

1843. His depositus fuit d. P : Rosare Die Novemb : 9 Ao. Dom : 1781
Requi

(Here was buried d. P. Rosare on the 9th day of November in the year of our Lord 1781. Last line, of two long words, illegible, save for the beginning of the second word, Requi).

The community of Christians in Mogul Delhi was composed in the main of two classes, Armenians and "adventurers". The house and two churches of the Jesuits, built during the reign of Jahangir, were burnt down by Nadir Shah's men in 1739, and thereafter the Armenian colony dwindled away. Sir Edward Maclagan has dealt with the subject in his *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul*, and we had a note on the church in these pages recently (see *Bengal : Past & Present*, vol. L, p. 130). The adventurers included not only gunners and other soldiers but also physicians and artificers. In 1773 the Society of Jesus was suppressed and its missionary work in the Mogul dominions was entrusted to the discalced (barefoot) Carmelites of Bombay, two of whom were in 1781 sent up country to take charge of the former Jesuit mission at Agra. One soon returned to Bombay : the other, Fr. Gregory of the Presentation, remained in Northern India for the rest of his life, and is buried in this Kishanganj cemetery, though Sir Miles Irving has misread his

(1) *Catholic Calendar & Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra*, 1908, appendix, p. 32 et seq.

epitaph as Crecour instead of Gregour. It will be recalled that it was Fr. Gregory who baptised the Begam Sombre at Agra, on 7th May, 1781. As we are told that the former Christian cemetery at Delhi was destroyed during Nadir Shah's invasion, it would seem that the Kishanganj cemetery dates from Fr. Gregory's arrival in 1781, which is the year of the two earliest M.I. as given above. I should add that the year date in both epitaphs is absolutely clear and leaves no room for doubt.

I copied the following further epitaphs here :—

1844. GOD IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER IN (sic) OF THE SON AMEN. THE MEMORY OF THE LATE MONCEUR (sic)
(? O) TOUN FRANCHMA (N) (sic) DIED ON THE 6 OF DECEMBER 1800. (Also a Persian inscription, from which the name of the deceased might perhaps learnt.)

1845. Cy git judith gacoin epouse de monsieur le capitaine won (sic) der osten (? oslen) chef de la fatorie danoise de Patena illutre (sic) famille de danemarc morte le 13 avrila (sic) 1808+ne (sic) le 28 juillet 1792 il faut pour etre heureux fonder son assurance autre pres (?) qu'en ce monde ou regne l'inconstance. Gacoin fecit 1809.

(Of Captain Von der Osten, chief of the Danish factory at Patna, I have no note; but he can doubtless be traced. The Gacoins (or Gascoines) were a family of military adventurers at the Mogul Court. The maternal grandfather of Captain Manuel Deremao was a Monsieur Manuel Gascoine, stated to have been a military engineer in the Mogul service) (2).

1846. Sacred to the memory of William M. Samson (? Sarson) who died on the 16 January 1810 aged (? 40) years.

1847. Sacred to the memory of Nouratia Deremao (sic) who departed this life XVII May 1828. (The figure 2 is not clear. This lady was the sister-in-law of Captain Manuel Deremao, and is mentioned in his will as his brother's widow. She was probably the mother of A. W. Deremao, *infra*.)

1848. Rosey daughter of J. Rennell, aged 8 days, died 22 August 1838.

1849. Joseph, son of J. Rennell, aged 11 days, died 22 August 1837.

1850. Sacred to the memory of Miss Elizabeth Williams, died 12 March 1851, aged 27 years, erected by Jas. Rennell her godfather.

(James Rennell senior was sole executor of Captain Manuel Deremao's son, Lieut. Domingo Deremao, formerly of Daulat Rao Scindia's service.)

1851. Sacred to the memory of Mr. Anthony Wale Deremao, who departed this life for the eternal on the 31st October 1854. His loss has been deeply lamented by his widow, friends and relatives. Aged 69 years. (Anthony, nephew of Captain Manuel Deremao, received a pension

(2) Sir M. Irving's No. 24 in this cemetery is one Michel Garoin: should we not read Gacoin? Only Mich . . . is now legible.

of Rs. 40 monthly from the British as a former Maratha officer. Nauratia Deremao, *supra*, was probably his mother).

1852. Mrs. Dominga Deremao, died 4th February 1871, aged 81 years. May she rest in peace. (Evidently widow of Anthony Wale Deremao. She was a benefactress of the present Roman Catholic church at Delhi (built 1865) in which there is a mural tablet to her memory, giving the same date of death as this M. I. and stating that she died in her 81st year).

KULDANA, Murree Hills.

There are two cemeteries at Kuldana. The smaller and older contains several graves of privates of the 4th Bn. Rifle Bde., including one who died in 1879 from illness contracted during the Second Afghan War. The large new cemetery dates from 1885 or earlier, and the following are from it:—

1853. Ethel May, dau. of Lieut. & Qr. Mr. W. H. HILL & Louisa his wife, 1st Bn. W. Yorks Regt., b. 17 March 1894, d. 8 May 1911.
 1854. George, infant son of Maj. & Mrs. H. H. G. SMITH, d. 20 Sept. 1920.
 1855. Lil, wife of Maj. H. H. LEE, The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), d. 30 Sept. 1920.
 1856. Lt. Algernon Cresley BARKER, 60th Rifles, d. 24 Sept. 1924, aged 25.
 1857. Maj. Sidney Hatch WRIGHT, M. C., 31st Fd. Batt. R. A., d. at Muree 20 July 1933.
 1858. Maj. Harold Anthony KENYON, M. C., R. E. b. 11 June 1897, d. 30 May 1934. Husband of Veronica Margaret; eldest son of Maj.-Gen. L. R. Kenyon & Elizabeth Jane his wife.

TATTA, Lower Sind.

On the Makli Hills, at Tatta in Lower Sind, is a grave (near the tomb of Shaikh Ali) inscribed "M. MADROD REGIMENT OFFICER", which I saw in Feb. 1936. I came to the conclusion that the inscription had been copied from an earlier one by someone ignorant of English, and that the original name had very probably been MACLEOD, the CL having been misread as D. I therefore made inquiry from Major V.C.P. Hodson whether any officer named Macleod was known to have died at or near Tatta; and he informs me that:—

1859. Second Lieut. George MACLEOD, Bengal Engineers, d. Tatta, 5 Oct. 1839.

He was son of Norman Macleod of the Bengal C. S.; was appointed Sec. Lt. Bombay Engineers, 10 June 1836; and transferred to the Bengal Engineers on 25 Sept. 1839, a few days before his death.

GUJAR KHAN camping-ground, Rawalpindi District.

1860. No. 5077 Actg. Cpl. W. MILLS, 3rd Bn. Rifle Bde., d. at camp Gujar Khan, 23 Nov. 1898, aged 20. (Also 3 nameless graves).

MANORA Fort, KARACHI.

1861. Mary Jane, wife of Mr. BUCHANAN, d. of cholera on board the . . . (name of vessel illegible) 14 Feb. 1844, aged 26 years 6 months (Text).

KARNAL, cemetery near old church tower.

1862. Donald Lewis Grant, only son of Capt. D. M. CAMERON, H. M. 3rd Regt. (or Buffs), d. Karnal 12 Dec. 1841, aged 8 months.
1863. Robert Elphinstone Richard Sale BRUERE, d. 10 January 1918, aged 75 years 9 months, grandson of Gen. Sir Robert Sale.
1864. Violet Beatrice, only daughter of Veterinary Capt. and Mrs. APPLETON, d. 26 Apr. 1901, aged 5 years 9 months.
1865. Morris George Bernard REECE, I.C.S., youngest son of late Edmund Bernard Reece, of Cardiff, d. 5 Oct. 1909, aged 26.

Mural tablets in St. James's church tower.

1866. Eliza, wife of H. CAREW Esq., Paymaster H. M. 13th L. I., d. 19 June 1836, aged 27 ; also their child, George Edward, d. 1836 aged 3 months.
1867. Edward Henry TRONSON, infant child of Major Tronson H. M. 13th L.I., d. 8 July 1836, aged 1 yr. 1 month.
1868. Sarah, wife of Mr. John SPERRIN, Deputy Asst. Commissary of Ordnance, d. 27 Nov. 1837, aged 59.
1869. Richard Fitzgerald, son of Lieut. George KING, H. M. 13th L.I., d. Karnal 27 Aug. 1838, aged 1 year.
1870. Matilda SWAYNE, dau. of Stephen & Harriet Maria Swayne, killed by a fall from her horse, b. 29 June 1823, d. 18 Aug. 1840.
1871. Jane and Eliza Mary, daughters of Capt. DYSON, Deputy Judge Advocate General, d. Karnal, the former on 30 Sept. 1838, aged 3 yrs. 4 months, the latter on 4 Feb. 1841, aged 13 months.

JULLUNDUR, old cemetery near church.

1872. Anna Jane, dau. of Lieut. C. C. ROBERTSON, Bengal Army, & Anna Maria his wife, d. 5 Sept. 1846, aged 1 yr. 5 m. 23 days.
1873. Henry Worrall CROMMELIN, son of the late Major G. R. CROMMELIN, C.B., Bengal Cavalry, d. 12 May 1874, aged 5 yrs. 21 days.

CAMPBELLPUR, PUNJAB.

1874. David Field RENNIE, M.D., Surgeon 20th Hussars, d. 4 March 1868, aged 43.
1875. John NUTTALL esq., late of Attock, d. 11 July 1871, aged 49.
1876. Kathleen Aline Theodosia, wife of Lieut. John Dent BIRD, 20th Hussars, d. 1 Aug. 1869, aged 25.
1877. Eric Henry, son of Capt. Stuart NICHOLSON, R.H.A., b. 25 June. d. 8 July 1871.
1878. Capt. Marcus BERESFORD, R.A., aged 33 (no date).
1879. Wilfrid Andrew, infant son of Lieut. W. J. ROBERTSON, R.H.A., b. 2 Feb. 1884, d. 16 May 1884.

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1880. Constance Emma, wife of Surgeon-Major P. J. O'SULLIVAN, Medical Staff, d. 13 Feb. 1892, aged 22 years 9 months.
1881. Drummer G. JENNINGS, H. M. 81st Regt., accidentally drowned in the Hurroo River near this station, on 6 May 1861, aged 19.
1882. Caroline Elizabeth Dixon, wife of T. SPURR, sub-engineer P.N.S. Railway, d. 11 January 1880, aged 35.
1883. Edith Mary, wife of Major C. B. STEELE, I.A., d. 3 Dec. 1916.

There are also number of graves of men of the 7th and 20th Hussars, and Royal Artillery.

M. I. in ATTOCK DISTRICT, PUNJAB.

- (a) HAZRO, near bungalow & camping ground, 200 yds. S. of Grand Trunk Road. 1884,....HOLMES, H. M. 79th Highlanders, d. 13 January 1864, a. 15 months. (first part broken & illegible. stated to be child of a corporal).
- (b) LAWRENCEPUR, abandoned cantonment, ½ mile N. of Grand Trunk Road.
1885. Lt. HENRY CROWE, 67th S. H. Regt., d. Lawrencepur 27 Feb. 1879.
1886. ELIZA, wife of HORACE HILTON PERKIN, 20th Hussars, d. 22 Dec. 1868, a. 34.
1887. J. McCOURT, 20th Hussars, d. Sydon Bowlie, 8 Sept. 1868, a. 28.
1888. R. CHAFFE, 20th Hussars, d. Sydon Bowlie, 2 Apr. 1869, a. 32.
1889. Pte—WHELAN, 20th Hussars, d. Sydon Bowlie, 26 Apr. 1869, a. 30.
6. M. GEANEY, 20th Hussars, d. Lawrencepur 23 Dec. 1869, a. 29.

H. BULLOCK,

Major.

Our Library Table.

*Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah 1740-70, Vol. I,
Social and Economic. By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A.
Published by the University of Calcutta, 1936.*

In this volume Mr. Datta presents a description of the economic and social conditions of the old province of Bengal as constituted under the later Nawabs-Nazim during the period 1740 to 1770, based upon contemporary literature, the accounts of travellers and officials, and, chiefly, upon the records of the E. I. Company, the unpublished records of which, preserved in the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, have been subjected to intensive study. From these sources a mass of interesting details have been selected for publication, more particularly in respect of the working of the many 'factories' established by the E. I. Co., their methods of trade and investments, and their relations with the Nawab's government and the local craftsmen. In the last chapter a general survey is given of the conditions then prevailing, the state of communications by land and water, indigenous industries and handicrafts, agricultural produce and methods, markets and prices, conditions of labour, etc.

Such material has necessarily involved the quotation of a large number of vernacular terms, often mystified by the quaint English spelling adopted at the time. These have nearly all been explained in the text or in the notes; but some seem to have escaped identification. To cite a few examples, the explanation of "koondegurs" (p. 113, n. 21) as "workmen who bettle clothes" will puzzle many readers. "Bettle" should read "beetle", meaning to beat with a 'beetle', or wooden mallet—what is technically called 'calendering': *kundī* is the act of so beating, and *kundīgar* the man who performs this work. The incorrect spelling of a term as "putchelrah" (p. 159), "pechowbrah" (p. 162) and "pachowlerah" (p. 163) evidently perplexed Mr. Datta. These must be mistakes for 'panchotra' (i.e. *pañcottara*), meaning an inland custom-house where a transit duty of 5 per cent was ordinarily levied. Again if "sannoos" (p. 421) be derived from Sanskrit *sana*, they cannot have been flaxen or linen cloth, as this word means hemp, not flax (Sans. *ataśi*, Hin. *tīśi*).

Mr. Datta has spared no pains to search out and examine relevant records, whether printed or manuscript, and, amongst others, he has suitably utilised James Rennell's *Journals*, and his (now rarely seen) work on the Roads in Bengal and Behar. Had he referred to Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* or, for greater detail, his large 5 mi. to the inch sheets reproduced by Colonel Hirst, he would have found all the roads shown in remarkable detail. But why should

Rennell's name be spelt "Rennel" throughout? Rennell always wrote it with double l.

The work is one of the results of very extensive reading and research in a field hitherto insufficiently explored, and Mr. Datta is to be heartily congratulated upon his devotion to such study, and for giving us this clear picture of the people's lives at a momentous epoch in their history.

C. E. A. W. O.

*"Mir Qasim" Nawab of Bengal, 1760-1763 : by Nandalal Chatterjee, M.A.,
Ph.D., Lecturer in History, University of Lucknow, Formerly Research
Scholar in the Department of History, University of Allahabad.
Printed and published by K. Mitra at the Indian Press, Ltd.,
Allahabad, 1935.*

This volume is the fruit of Dr. Chatterjee's laborious work in the archives of the Imperial Record Department and elsewhere. The Chapters I, II and XVIII of the book have thrown a flood of light on the birth, death and character of this Nawab whose reign, though brief, is inseparably connected with the rapid development of the East India Company's power in Bengal. The copious footnotes and bibliography which the author has given at the end of his book will be of invaluable assistance to future workers in the same field of research. Dr. Chatterjee is to be warmly congratulated on this important contribution to the history of an eventful period in the annals of British Rule in India.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Editor's Note-Book

WE are glad to announce that Thomas Daniell's oil-painting of the Military Orphan House at Howrah, of which we gave an illustration in our last issue, has been presented by private subscribers to the Victoria Memorial Hall in remembrance of Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., who died on 15th May 1936 at the ripe age of eighty-two. Sir Rajendra was a valued member of the Calcutta Historical Society, of which he was one of the Vice-Presidents, and took a great interest in the Victoria Memorial Hall, to which he made several munificent presentations. We rejoice to think that his memory will be perpetuated in so appropriate a manner.

SOME interesting additions have been made to the art-collection at the India Office. Mr. C. P. Bell, F.S.A., has presented a portrait in oils of Captain Benjamin Sydenham of the Madras Engineers (1794-1808) who was aide-de-camp to Lord Wellesley in 1803 and was appointed in Feb. 1804 to be secretary to Josiah Webbe, Resident with Scindia. He was subsequently a Commissioner of Excise in England. The painter is not known, but the style resembles that of James Northcote (1746-1831). His brother Major Thomas Sydenham (1780-1816), also of the Madras Engineers, was assistant private secretary to Wellesley in 1799, Resident at Hyderabad from 1806 to 1810, and British Minister at Lisbon from 1815 until his death at Geneva in 1816. There is a reference to Benjamin Sydenham in Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. IV, pp. 285 *sqq.*). One of the portraits of Wellesley by Home at the Oriental Club was presented in 1841 by Mr. G. de Sidenham who stated in the letter accompanying the gift of the picture that it was painted in 1805 and given by Wellesley to Benjamin Sydenham.

Two other presentations to the India Office have been made by Dr. Spencer. These are pencil sketches by Melton Prior of the Durbar at Delhi which was attended by the Duke of Connaught.

RECENT events at Malaga recall the fact that the cemetery in that city contains a monument to a very gallant Irishman, Robert Boyd, a former Lieutenant in the 65th Bengal N. I. On June 27, 1827, Boyd, who had served in India little more than two

A Malaga Monument.

years, left the country on furlough. Whilst at home he came under the spell of the Spanish patriot General José Maria Torrijos, then in exile in England. Boyd resigned his Commission Nov. 9, 1831, and joined Torrijos' forlorn hope which landed in Spain with the intention of promoting an insurrection in favour of the constitution. Failing to rouse the country, this little band of forty-nine "rebels" surrendered in December 1831 and were shot to death on the 11th of that month, four days after Boyd's twenty-sixth birthday. An account of this abortive attempt, together with a portrait of Robert Boyd, is given in Bishop Boyd-Carpenter's "Some Pages of my Life," (London, 1911). A Malaga newspaper, *La Unión Mercantil*, also published an account on the centenary of the mass execution.

IN a note on page 139 of our last issue (Vol. LII, Part II) mention was made of Charles Lee Lewes the actor who had shipped as a Seaman on board the *Kent* Indiaman in 1788. Mr. Ottewill, Superintendent of Records at the India Office, sends us some "Guinea Pigs" and Midshipmen. amusing extracts from a volume of "Marine Subjects—Various" (1785-1814) which he has unearthed in course of a search for another purpose. Under date of May 23, 1795 and heading "India Shipping" the enquiry is made: "Is there any difference either in pay, Mess, or Privilege, or any other (except in name) between a Midshipman and a Guinea Pig?" The answer is as follows:

A Guinea Pig who goes out under the Patronage of the Commander is generally rated on the Books as an ordinary Seaman or Captain's Servant. The difference in the pay of those stations and that of Midshipman is considerable; at the present time [1795] the Captain's Servant's pay is about twenty shillings per month less than a Midshipman's. The Guinea Pig always has a seat at the Captain's Table; the Midshipmen mess by themselves; the latter are obliged to watch and perform a regular routine of duty which is assigned them: the employment of the Guinea Pig is directed by the discretion of the Commander or his own inclinations. Each Midshipman is allowed a Privilege or rather Indulgence of carrying out for sale on his own account goods to the amount in Tonnage of ten cubical feet—the Guinea Pig has not any indulgence of this nature.

The next question is as follows: "Can a Youth be sent on board an Indiaman in a more respectable way on his first voyage than as a Guinea Pig?" To which the answer is given:

Certainly not. But if he is not very young he would make a better Seaman in a shorter time by going as Midshipman and being obliged to do a certain line of the Ship's Duty. Besides, after having experienced the Comforts and advantages of the Commander's Table one Voyage a Young man might consider it a hardship to mess with the Midshipmen.

In reply to the query "What is the next station to a Guinea Pig?" the answer is :

There is not any Station under this Title rated on the Books. Young Gentlemen going out with that appellation are as before mentioned generally rated as Ordinary Seaman or Captain's Servants and proceeded on their next voyage as Midshipmen.

To the final question "Is a Guinea Pig entitled by right to the Station of fourth Mate after he is qualified, or must he have recourse to the Owners for an Appointment?" the reply is returned :

Not any Officer in the ship is entitled by right to any Station whatever. His Appointment rests entirely with the Commander and Owners.

THE Bengal Directory for 1835 contains a list of troops commanded by European officers in the King of Oudh's service. The 1st Regt. Oudh Light Infantry, stationed at Secrora, was commanded by Captain George C. Barlow, with Captain Alexander Orr as second-in-command, Lieut. Frederick Stoakes as adjutant, and Lieut. Thomas Frederick Catania as Interpreter and Quartermaster. The 2nd Regt. Oudh Foot Guards, at Sultanpur, was commanded by Captain William Thomas Bunbury, with Captain William Hearsey as second-in-command, Lieut. John Hearsey as adjutant, and John Rotton (rank not stated) as Interpreter and Quartermaster. The 5th Regt. Oudh Infantry (Grenadiers), also quartered at Sultanpur, was commanded by Captain Richard Magness, with Lieut. Eusuph Khan as adjutant and Mr. Jacob Johannes as Regimental Vakeel. The 6th Regt. Oudh Light Infantry, at Bhinga, was commanded by Captain Patrick James Orr, with Lieut. W. P. Adolphus Orr as adjutant. Some notes on these and other officers in the Oudh service may be of interest.

GEORGE C. BARLOW commanded a *kumuki* regiment in the Oudh service which, after the cantonment of Secrora was abandoned by the British in 1835, was stationed there for some years. The Barlow Family. Sleeman saw this corps in 1849 and described it as a good one. In 1861 Lieut.-Col. C. G. (*sic*) Barlow submitted a memorial (apparently to the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow) asking that he might be granted a *jagir* in lieu of pension, from which it would appear that he survived the Mutiny ; though a Mr. Barlow was killed at Cawnpore in 1857. It may be noted that Major James Skinner, second son of Colonel James Skinner, C.B., married a Miss Sophia Barlow at Hansi on 25 May 1829.

There was another officer named Barlow in the Oudh army, for a Lieut. J. Barlow is shown as serving on 23 March 1842, with pay of Rs. 200 monthly, in the Parliamentary Return published in the *Indian Mail* in 1848. We may also note that Major Hodson, in his *List of Officers of the Bengal Army*, appends a note "Subsequently took service with King of Oudh" to Lieut. Andrew Samuel Barlow, who was struck off the strength of the Bengal Army in 1816 after five years absence from India (1).

THERE are many mentions of the Orr family in the literature of the Mutiny in Oudh. There were perhaps descended from one James Orr, a merchant at Lucknow in or before 1795, who came out to India on the *Egmont* in 1777 (*East India Kalendar*, 1796). The Parliamentary Return already cited shows Lieut. A. P. Orr as in the King of Oudh's service on 23 March 1842, with pay at Rs. 175 monthly. The Hearsey family has been dealt with in *The Harseys*, by Colonel Pearse; and the particulars which he gives need not be repeated here. The Rotton family is more obscure. There was a Lieut. Rotton in Scindia's service in 1803, who later received a British pension of Rs. 200 monthly. Felix Rotton, commissioned as a local Cornet in the 3rd (Casement's) Local Cavalry in August 1819; and B. Rotton, commissioned as a local Ensign in the Rangpur Local Battalion in August 1818, were possibly sons of his. In 1858 a Captain R. Rotton, late of the King of Oudh's service, applied for a British pension, which was granted. He died before 1862, when his son John and daughter Lucy applied for his pension to be continued to them. There can be little doubt that all these persons belonged to one and the same family.

CAPTAIN Richard J. H. Magness was in command of a *kumukhi* corps in the Oudh army which in December 1849 was inspected at Partabgarh by Sleeman, who speaks of Magness as a good officer and thought very well of his regiment. He died at Lucknow on 18 December 1856, and his widow, Mary Anne, was killed by mutineers in June 1857. His marriage is recorded in the *East India Register* for 1827: "25 January 1826, Mr. R. J. H. Magness to Miss Mary A. Jennings". The name is spelt Magnus in the *Bengal Directory* for the years 1846, 1849 and 1850. Of Captain William Thomas Bunbury and Lieut. Frederick Stoakes we have no details.

(1) Sleeman, *Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh*, I. 185, II. 123; Blunt, *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces*, no. 419; Press-List of Oudh Board of Revenue Papers (unpublished).

THE list of military officers in the *Bengal Directory* for 1855 is by no means exhaustive. Another was Captain Frederick Buckley, son of Colonel Frederick Buckley (1786-1853), 70th Bengal Native Infantry. Sleeman, who calls him "a good soldier and a faithful servant of the Oudh Government", knew him when he was commanding a *kumuki* regiment, to the command of which one Soba Singh succeeded when Buckley died at Lucknow on 28 May 1841, aged 30. "His mother, widow and son were left destitute; but on my recommendation the King granted the lad a pension of fifty rupees a month", writes Sleeman. Mrs. Mary Buckley, the captain's widow, claimed compensation in 1861 for her house at Lucknow which had been destroyed during the Mutiny. Frederick Buckley's name appears amongst the inhabitants of Lucknow listed in the *Bengal Directory*, 1855, where the following are shown as "Oudh Service":—

Jos. B. Bailey.

F. Buckley.

A. Campagnac.

Henry du Boist

J. Graham.

C. Sinclair.

Joseph Johannes, painter to King of Oudh.

W. Sangster, Persian interpreter to King of Oudh.

THE last of these names is that of a family of military adventurers. Compton, in his *European Military Adventurers in Hindustan* (p. 27 and appendix), tells us of Major (? George) Sangster, a Scot who in 1782 obtained command of a disciplined battalion of infantry which René Madec had raised at Agra and sold to the Rana of Gohad. He was a skilled gun-founder, and when De Boigne raised his first two battalions he engaged Sangster and appointed him to the charge of the arsenal at Agra. Other arsenals were established under his superintendence at Muttra, Delhi, Gwalior, Kalpi, and Gohad. His subsequent career has not been traced; but a Mrs. Catherine Sangster (*sic*) died at Agra on 23 Oct. 1851; and his son followed in his father's footsteps. In 1801 it was reported that "Lakwa Dada has employed Mr. Sangster's son to raise and discipline a battalion for him"; and this youth served against the British at Assaye on 23 Sept. 1803 (2). William Sangster owned a house in the Chini Bazar at Lucknow in 1859-61.

OTHER Europeans in the King of Oudh's employ, who may not however have been military officers, were James Loch, who died on 12 March 1828, and whose daughter Christiana married Major Daniel Bamfield of the Bengal Army; and John Campbell, who died at Lucknow on 25 April 1831. The *Bengal Almanac*, 1823, shows one William Trickett as architect and engineer to the King of Oudh at Lucknow, and Thomas Denham as the King's chief mechanic; also one J. Henry Clarke as in the King's service.

SLEEMAN records that a Colonel Roberts was in 1837 in command of a brigade of the Oudh army (*Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh*, II. 162); whilst Lieut. William James Shepherd, adjutant of the 2nd Infantry in the King of Oudh's service, died at Lucknow on 2 June 1840, aged 54. He was son of the celebrated military adventurer Colonel James Redhead Shepherd (d. 1813). Lieut. W. J. Shepherd's wife Louisa died at Agra on 22 Dec. 1846, aged 46. Their son was William John Shepherd of Cawnpore fame: the *Dictionary of Indian Biography* is wrong in stating that Wm. John Shepherd was a son of Col. James Redhead Shepherd—it should be grandson.

The name Campagnac appears in the 1855 list above. We have a note that a Lieut. C. Campagnac, of the King of Oudh's service, married at Lucknow, on 29 January 1838, Miss Eleanor Hill.

There were two Campagnacs in the Lucknow garrison during the siege, according to the list given by Rees: C. Campagnac, uncovenanted service, and Lieut. (? A.) Campagnac, late King's service. The son of one of these is still alive (born in 1848) and living in Calcutta: see *B. P. P.* XLVIII, p. 141.

A LINK between the Old Bengal Army and the European military adventurers in Hindustan was forged by the marriage, at Agra on the 15th July 1831, of Lieutenant John Russell and Ellen, eighth and youngest daughter of Colonel E. Pedron, formerly of the Mahratta service, who was *kiladar* of Aligarh at the time it capitulated to the British in 1803. Major Hodson informs us that John Russell was born in 1804 and was a son of Patrick Russell, a Writer to the Signet. His uncle was Sir William Russell, M.D., the first baronet of Charlton Park, formerly a surgeon on the Bengal establishment, who was created a baronet after his retirement for services in the London cholera epidemic in 1831. John Russell received a Bengal cadetship in 1820, becoming an ensign in 1821 and being promoted a lieutenant on 11 July 1823. As Dodwell and Miles record, he was discharged from the service on 31st December 1829, in India; but he was reinstated, on the Pension Establishment, with effect

from 13th May 1831 and filled various minor official posts till his death at Agra on 8th May 1860. His epitaph was printed as no. 97 of the series of Monumental Inscriptions which Major Bullock has published in our pages. We have traced only one child of this marriage, a son, born at Agra on 28th June 1838 (recorded in the *East India Register*, 1839); but it is not unlikely that there was other issue.

A SIMILAR link between the Bengal Civil Service and the adventurers was a marriage noted in the *East India Register* for May 1837:—

Mrs. Madeleine Sturt. "At Aligarh, 14 April 1830, by the Rev. Frere G. M. de Bene, and on May 6, at the same place, by the Rev. R. Chambers, R. R. Sturt esq., B.C.S., to Madelaine, 2nd daughter of Major Louis Derridon, late of the Mahratta service". Richard Roche Sturt, B.C.S., was seventh son of Thomas Lennox Napier Sturt of the same service (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, s.n. Sturt of Winterdyne). Burke records his first wife, Mary daughter of Colonel Whish (by whom he had no issue), but makes no mention of this second marriage to Mlle. Derridon. The latter lady died at Agra on 19th August 1859, aged 51: her gravestone was erected by her children, as noted by Sir E. A. H. Blunt in his *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces* (p. 66). During the Mutiny the second Mrs. Sturt was at Fatehgarh, and was one of the few Christians to escape from that place. With her she apparently had a son, John, who also escaped, and a daughter who was killed at Cawnpore on 15th July 1857: see *Fatehgarh and the Mutiny*, by Lt.—Col. F. R. Cozens and Mr. C. W. Wallace, I.C.S. (Lucknow, 1933). Mr. Wallace tells us that in the Fatehgarh District Records there is a letter from Mrs. Sturt, written from Agra in 1858, which recommends an Indian for a reward on the ground that he had helped her and her son John (who appears from the letter then to have been a young boy) to escape. The *East India Register*, 1839, notifies the birth at Sylhet, on 3rd July 1838, of a daughter to the lady of R. R. Sturt of the civil service. This may have been the one who was killed at Cawnpore in 1857; but, as Madeleine Sturt's epitaph shows, she was survived by at least one child other than her son John. There is a pedigree of Derridon in *Le Général Perron*, by A. Martineau (Paris, 1931) but is not entirely accurate (*B.P.P.*, XLIV, pp. 2-3), as it confuses Major Derridon's daughter Madeleine (Mrs. Sturt) with his sister of the same name, who died in 1804 as the first wife of General Pierre Cuillier Perron, Daulat Rao Scindia's last commander-in-chief.

A PERUSAL of the early *East India Kalendars* leads to some interesting questions. Most of them contain a list of "European British Subjects in Bengal, not in the Company's service", though some of the persons enumerated can, from their names, hardly have been British subjects. We have

Who was Hamilton
Wilson?

had the opportunity of comparing the lists for 1791, 1796 and 1801 : the issue for 1793 for some reason omitted the list. Who, for instance, was Hamilton Wilson? In 1791 he is shown as at Lucknow, with no comment. In 1796 : "Wilson, Hamilton, with Scindia". In 1801 : "Wilson, Hamilton, in the service of Scindia". In 1806 : "Lately in the service of Scindia". His name continues to appear in the *East India Registers*, successors of the *E. I. Kalendars*, till 1831. As his death is not recorded in subsequent issues, it would seem that he must have left India about that year. But if he was a military adventurer, and later a resident in Bengal for over thirty years, it is strange that we should not learn more of him from other sources.

ANOTHER conundrum is offered by the entries relating to one John Shepherd, who is shown in the *Kalendar* for 1796 as "surgeon with Scindia", and as having come out to India on the *Scindia's Surgeon. Busbridge* in 1789. In the *Kalendar* for 1801 there is an entry in respect of one John Shepherd, indigo planter, Bauliah; and the later *E. I. Registers* describe him similarly, but spell the name Shephard. The *Register* for 1811 shows him as an indigo planter (location not stated) who came out in 1790, which date perhaps tends to identify him with the surgeon of 1789. In 1822 his name reverts to Shepherd, and appears for the last time in January 1826. His death has not been traced. Again, why is there no other known mention of this surgeon of Scindia?

A MYSTERIOUS Nobleman appears in several of the early lists. The 1796 *Kalendar* has : "Gika, Count Alex.", with no further details. In 1801 we find : "Gika, Count Alexander, up the country"; and in 1810 : "Gika, Alexander, C., up the country". Then comes a long gap, till in the *E. I. Register* for May 1835 there is recorded the marriage, at Calcutta on 26th August 1834, of Mr. C. Gomez of the Hon'ble Company's lithographic press to Mrs. H. Gika, relict of the late Major L. Gika of the Mahratta service. (Major Hodson informs us that the lady's name was Helen). We have been unable to trace in the Marquis Ruvigny de Ravenal's *Nobilities of Europe* any foreign title or family of Gika or Ghika; but as foreign counts, authentic or otherwise, were not common in Bengal in those days, it is difficult to explain how such a person could have lived out here for at least fifteen, and perhaps nearly fifty, years, without being occasionally mentioned in contemporary letters, diaries and other documents. Can any reader, therefore, tell us more of the mysterious Count? The explanation of this and similar problems may, of course, lie in the common practice amongst soldiers of fortune of adopting *noms-de-guerre*.

WE do not recall having seen any mention of European military adventurers in Nepal ; but the names of three such are to be found in *Papers respecting the Nepal War, printed in conformity to the Resolution of the Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, of the 3rd March 1824*, a copy of which is in the Imperial Library. Their names were Vincent, "Debbensee" and Neville. Vincent, a Frenchman, was living at Patna in 1814 (p. 88). He had assisted another Frenchman, "Debbensee", in casting cannon in Nepal. The latter, who is elsewhere (p. 80) called "Dilbensee", erected a water-driven boring machine for artillery near Khatmandu ; but was murdered for attempting to escape out of the country. Neville, or Nevil, was in the service of Raja Prithi Narain (1742-1774). Francis Neville, his son, by a native of the country, was born about 1777 and left Nepal about 1802 (p. 81), settling down as a trader at Patna. "He dresses like an Armenian, professes the Catholic religion, has a shop stocked with European and native merchandise, and seems in easy circumstances. Is active, clear in his conceptions and language, appears generally shrewd and intelligent . . . cannot write or speak English", wrote Moorcroft in 1814 (p. 287). The epitaphs of Francis Neville (d. 2nd July 1833, aged 62) and his wife Juliana (d. 8 April 1833, aged about 54) are to be seen in the old Roman Catholic cathedral at Patna, and were printed in the late Father H. Hosten's *Record of the Inscriptions in the Catholic Church at Patna* (Patna, Govt. Press, 1917). Father Hosten however does not appear to have been aware of Neville's origin. Juliana Neville left an only surviving son, James Campier : whether by a previous marriage is not clear.

We have not been able to identify Vincent or "Debbensee". It seems likely that some if not all of these three Frenchmen may have belonged to Gentil's French party at Lucknow. When Shuja-ud-daula died, on 26th January 1775, his son Mirza Moni under pressure from the British dismissed all his foreign soldiers. Amongst these were Gentil, Visage, Modave, Dieu, Aumont, de la Sauvagère, de Martinière, and Crecy. Thirteen of them joined René Madec at Bari (Barbé, *Le Nabad René Madec*, p. 124) including all save Gentil of those just named. There was a Vincent in Madec's campoo, but as he was killed in the battle near Fatehpur on 29 July 1775, he cannot be identified with the man who was at Patna in 1814. Perhaps the latter was the "Mathieu Vincent, décédé le 27 Juillet 1833", who is buried at Mirzapur (*Blunt, U.P.M. I*, no. 638).

NO apology is necessary for summarising some details which appeared many years ago in our columns (*B.P.P.*, XII (1916), pp. 173-7 ; XIV, p. 307) regarding another French adventurer, Tailhade. "General Tailhade". Jean Baptiste Tailhade was born at or near Toulouse, and went out to India at 14 years of age. He became a colonel in the Nizam's service and is said to have been second in command to Piron at the

time of the disarmament of the Nizam's French troops in 1798. In 1799 he went to England, describing himself as "Collector of the District of Caman". He married, at St. George's, Hanover Square, London, on 18 February 1800, Phoebe Charlotte, spinster of that parish and daughter of Richard Roche and Frances his wife. It was his wife's sixteenth birthday. They had issue a daughter, Frances Eugenia, born on 27 January 1802, and baptised 29 Feb. 1804 at the same church. Madame Tailhade's younger brother was Captain Joseph Roche, R.N. (d. 1862, aged 73), whose eldest son Charles Mills Roche married Emily, daughter of William Parker Goad, B.C.S. Their son was Col. Charles St. John Kellet Roche, V.D., D.L., of Purley, Surrey, who in 1916 owned a MS. account of the shipwreck of the Tailhade family, en route from Madras to Calcutta, off Saugor Island, on 15th July 1804. "General" Tailhade, his other infant daughter (not Frances Eugenia), his cousin M. Pierre Tailhade, and the "General's" natural son about ten years old, were all drowned.

THE British Chaplain at Basra, in reply to a recent inquiry, informs us that his records of burials at that place do not extend further back than 1899. It is of course possible that earlier records British Graves at Basra. were maintained by some other chaplaincy which then had Basra within its care, and if these could be traced they would undoubtedly prove to contain many names of Anglo-Indian interest.

MAJOR H. BULLOCK writes: In my account of Joseph Even, the Begam Sombre's commander-in-chief c. 1780, I quoted his epitaph at Mirzapur. I have since discovered that this epitaph appears, "MOWVIOBU" alias under an altogether unrecognisable name, in (Sir) Even. E. A. H. Blunt's *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces*, no. 764. It is thus printed: "Ci git Joseph Vandeoil Mowviobu, né Rennes le 15th (sic) Aout 1749, mort le 10th (sic) November (sic) 1805". The reading as given by William Crooke in 1891, and verified by the Collector of Mirzapur in 1935, was "Joseph Even Devil (sic) Monbiarn (sic)".

THE Begam Sombre, in her Will dated 16 December 1831, left considerable legacies to several of her godchildren. Amongst these beneficiaries it is interesting to find certain wives or children of officers in the Company's service. "John Sombre Mattheson (sic) youngest son of Patrick Grant Mattheson, now a captain in the Honourable Company's service", received Rs. 2,000. His father (born in 1789) was a captain in the Bengal Artillery, who died at Delhi

The Begam Sombre's
Godchildren.

on 15 October 1834 and who married Hannah Mills Butler, daughter of Alexander Aird, a Conductor of Ordnance. "Sombre MacDowell, son of Dr. MacDowell in the Company's service", was left Rs. 10,000. His father was presumably Superintending Surgeon James MacDowall (no. B. 450 in Col. Crawford's *Roll of the Indian Medical Service*), who retired as President of the Medical Board at Calcutta in 1834 and died in London in 1846. It is most curious to find Bengal officers naming their children after the infamous Sombre, who had been responsible for the murder of so many of their predecessors two or three generations before.

ANOTHER legatee was "another of my godchildren, the son of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Newton", Rs. 4,000. Major-General Thomas Newton, colonel of the 40th Bengal Native Infantry, was born in 1783 and died at Mussoorie on 23 June 1842. He married twice, and the only son whom he mentions in his will is Charles, who may well be the Begam's godson. "Mrs. Naylor, wife of Lieutenant Naylor, my god-daughter", was left Rs. 2,000. Captain and Brevet-Major Christopher Henry Naylor, of whom De Rhé-Philipe has a biographical notice, served in the Bengal Army from 1819 to 1848, and after his retirement lived at Sabathu in the Simla Hills, where he died on 25 August 1854. His wife was Miss Maria Gowan, whom he married at Delhi on 23 August 1830. We have no note of her parentage; and it would be interesting to know how the Begam came to sponsor her. Apart from descendants of "General" George Thomas, the only other English name amongst the legatees is that of "William Campbell, junior, now residing at Agra and writer in an office", to whom the Begam bequeathed Rs. 5,000.

THERE is a mention of Mrs. Matheson in a deposition made by John Rose Troup on 25 November 1853. "In the month of June, 1831," he says, "I was introduced to H. H. the Begam Sombre, by letter from the late Col. Skinner, at Sardhana; my object in going there being a matrimonial alliance with my present wife. I was received and welcomed by H. H. in the kindest manner. I was at that time adjutant of the 36th Regt. Bengal Native Infantry, stationed at Aligarh My first visit to Sardhana was but a complimentary one of a short month. I went back to my regiment, stayed there a month or two, and then returned to Sardhana at the special invitation of H. H. She then expressed a wish that I should enter her service, and I did so about September or October in that year, resigning my appointment under the East India Company According to the best of my recollection, it was somewhere about July 1831 that I went with Solaroli to Delhi to bring the

Troup's Match with
Ann Dyce.

sisters, now our wives, to Sardhana, having a letter from H. H. to Mr. Martin, the then political agent of the East India Company at Delhi. H. H. deemed it requisite, having heard that their father was opposed to their removal, and thinking that the interference of the Resident might be necessary. Mr. Martin, finding that I was a British officer, advised me not interfere in the business, but to leave the negotiation to Solaroli. After a good deal of discussion with Col. Dyce, through a friend, it was agreed, as the young ladies were of an age to judge for themselves, that they should be asked whether they would go to the Begam or to their father. Mr. (now Sir Charles) Trevelyan, then assistant to Mr. Martin, was deputed to ascertain their wishes on the subject. As they were living in the seclusion common to respectable females of the country, he was dubious how to identify them as the parties. Accordingly Mrs. Matthison (*sic*), wife of the late Major Matthison, who had known them from their earliest years, was present when they were questioned by Mr. C. Trevelyan. Their choice was for the Begam; and this being duly reported to the Resident, their removal was determined on, and no further obstacle was thrown in the way of it by their father"

WE believe that no account of Troup has appeared in *Bengal : Past & Present*. He was born at Nairn on 19 February, 1802, and baptized at the same place three days later. He was second son of John Troup and Jane his wife, sister of Field-Marshal Sir Hugh Henry Rose, first Lord Strathnairn. His father was of Fir Hall, Nairn. He received a Bengal cadetship in 1817, and became ensign on 27 April 1818, being posted to the 2/18th B. N. I. He was promoted lieut. on 30 Dec. 1818, and became adjutant of the 1/18th B. N. I. in 1823. He transferred to the 37th B. N. I. (late 2/18th) in May 1824, and was appointed interpreter and quartermaster in the same year. He changed to the 36th B. N. I. in 1825; served at the siege and capture of Bhurtpore in 1825-6; and was interpreter and quartermaster of the 36th from 1825 till his resignation.

In 1831 he was trying to find employment under some Indian ruler. On 9 May 1831 the King of Oudh wrote to Maddocks, then Resident at Lucknow, saying that he was willing to offer a suitable post to Troup; and in June 1831 the Begam Sombre applied for his services, saying that she "wished to have him by her, as he was highly qualified and intelligent and well versed in the Hindustani language". On this request being refused by the Government, he resigned his commission (19 Aug. 1831) and entered her service. He had married as his first wife, at Dacca, on 10 Dec. 1820, Caroline Georgiana, second daughter of Charles Stopford, of Chiplinton Park, Oxon. When she died is unknown. On 3 October 1831 he married at Sardhana, Anna Maria (Ann May), daughter of Col. G. A. D. Dyce, the Begam's former commander-in-chief. He returned to England in 1843 with his wife and the Solarolis. In 1851, when he received the Army of India

medal for his services at Bhurtpore, he was described in the medal-roll as a major-general. He died without issue in London on 2 July 1862, and his wife died in Italy on 18 March 1867.

THE *Sunday Statesman* to whom acknowledgments are due, published on the 22nd November, 1936, an article by "M. E. S." with a photograph of the building at Chunar, in which Mrs. Wood and Captives at Chunar. Alexander Campbell are believed to have been kept in captivity after their release from the Black Hole in 1756; and in which the following inscription is said at one time to have existed.

"This is the place of confinement of Annie Wood (wife of Lieutenant John Wood) taken prisoner by Jaffer Beg, Commandant to Sir Roger Doulah, taken out of the house at Calcutta where so many unhappy gentlemen suffered. The said Jaffer Beg obtained promotion of Segour Dowler for his long service (as) Faujdar of Chunar Gur. I, Alexander Campbell, was taken, along with the unfortunate lady, at 11 years old, by the same person: my only employment was to attend this lady, which I did in this place four years. 1762, May 3rd. The said Jaffer Beg was sent to acquaint the lady that if she did not consent to live with him, she would be strangled by my hands. At midnight we both escaped in a boat to Chinsurah, where we arrived on the 11th. The first news we heard was that Lieutenant Wood died for grief, as soon as she heard this she fell sick and died 27th of the month. Mr. Drake behaved with the greatest imprudence: he did deserve to be shot, shot, shot. Alexander Campbell. I am now in Doulah's service."

The photograph reproduced is very similar to, if not identical with, that appearing on page 419 of the *Bengal Past and Present*, July to December, 1909. The writer of the article was unable to furnish first-hand authority for its source, but the story appears to go back to the following letter to Hicky's short-lived *Bengal Gazette*, 1780, which was published in the notes to Firminger's edition of "Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus, 1909".

"Mr. Hicky, Sir. Having lately made an excursion of a few days to Chunar Ghur, where I was most agreeably entertained as well by the admirable society, for which that place is at present remarkable, as by the variety of pleasant rides and prospects I enjoyed from the chain of hills, I paid a visit to a small mosque situated upon a tank at the declivity of a hill, about a mile distant from the Ganges, and the same distance from the Fort of Chunar, and took down the following copy of an inscription, upon the wall of the said mosque which has been wrote with charcoal. If the copy of the inscription, I now send, will afford any amusement to your numerous Readers, you have my permission to publish it in your next paper; and if any of your

correspondents can favour me with any further particulars of the unfortunate parties here mentioned, I shall be much obliged to them.

Benares, October 20th, 1780. INDÆUS."

Another interesting source for the same inscription is a small frame, now exhibited in the Victoria Memorial, containing a page from a leaf of Holwell's Memoir said to have been once in the possession of Boileau, which reproduces this inscription in manuscript. This exhibit was presented in 1925 by Mr. W. P. Harris through Sir Evan Cotton, and it remains to be ascertained whether it is of independent authority or, as seems very likely, also derived from the letter of Indæus to Hicky's Gazette in 1780. If so, this is the only original authority for the inscription and its story.

Calcutta Historical Society.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held on Monday the 1st March 1937, at Room No. 57, 3 Government Place West, Calcutta, at 6 P.M.

Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., the Chairman of the Executive Committee was on the Chair.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1936.

In presenting the Annual Report of the Calcutta Historical Society it is pleasing to note that not only has the Society completed the 30th Year of its existence but it has also been able to maintain its high level of efficiency since the year of its foundation in 1907.

The Committee reports regretfully that their stalwart worker Sir Evan Cotton has recently been seriously ill and is still far from well. They express their sincere gratitude to him for the valuable assistance which he has been giving even in his enfeebled state of health.

To Major H. Bullock the Committee express their deep sense of appreciation for his continued contributions to the Editorial Notes of our journal which he very ably took over when Sir Evan Cotton could no longer carry on.

During the year under review the members of the Society were—Life—25, Honorary—11 and Ordinary—90. Total 126 against 124 of the previous year.

Financial position—It will be seen from the balance sheet drawn up and submitted by our Auditors, Messrs Lovelock & Lewis, that the credit balance at the Mercantile Bank of India Ltd., up to the 31st of December 1936 was Rs. 2,297-1-7; out of which the sum of Rs. 1328-8-11 belongs to the General Fund including the Fixed Deposit of Rs. 1200/- which has been renewed for 12 months; and Rs. 969-1-7 to the Index Fund.

We offer our sincere thanks to Messrs Lovelock & Lewis for their unfailing kindness in auditing the accounts of the Society free of charge year after year.

It may be mentioned here that the subscriptions of ordinary members amounting to Rs. 740/- were in arrears at the end of year 1936, that a portion thereof, viz, the sum of Rs. 60/- has since been realised and that it is hoped that those members who are still in arrears will arrange to pay their respective

subscriptions as early as possible, otherwise it will become impossible for the Society to publish the Journal regularly. It will be a serious loss indeed to certain branches of Indian History, if through financial embarrassment the issue of the Journal has to be discontinued.

It is with the deepest regret that I have to mention the death of one of the most valued members of the Society during the year under review. I refer to Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., who was not only one of our oldest members and ardent supporters but was also one of its Vice-Presidents since 1924. Sir Rajendra was a sincere lover of modern Art and Literature, and also of sports and games. There are scarcely any clubs or institutions in Bengal that did not receive his patronage. With all classes of the community the passing of so great and honourable a Bengali is profoundly mourned.

The Executive and Editorial Committees express their sincere thanks to Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., Mr. D. C. Ghose, Bar-at-Law, and other honorary office-bearers, who in spite of their manifold duties have devoted their valuable time to the cause of the Society and its Journal—"Bengal : Past & Present".

The Society also express its sincere gratitude to all those gentlemen who have helped the Journal with their historical contributions to maintain its standard of excellence. Among them special mention must be made of Sir Evan Cotton, Kt., C.I.E., Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., Major H. Bullock, F. R. Hist., S., Dr. Kalikinkar Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Miss Edith M. Humphries, Mr. Marryat R. Dobie, and Mr. Narendra Nath Ganguly.

Arrangements for printing the Index to Vol. XIX-XXVIII of "Bengal : Past and Present" have recently been made, and it is estimated they will take about six months to complete.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

GENERAL FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December 1936.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS	
To Balance at 1st Jan., 1936.		By Printing including Blocks and Reprints . . .	1,503 14 0
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.		Block-making . . .	334 6 6
On Current Account . . .	85 13 2	Postage, Stationery and Sundries . .	214 8 9
On Fixed Deposit . . .	1,200 0 0	Bank Charges . . .	3 2 0
		Balance at 31st December 1936.	
Subscriptions Realised		With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.	
Arrears . . .	600 0 0	On Current Account . .	128 8 11
Current . . .	974 4 0	On Fixed Deposit . .	1,200 0 0
Advance for 1937	40 0 0		1,328 8 11
Sale of Society's Journal . . .	386 11 0		
Reproduction Fee for the Blocks lent . . .	65 0 0		
Interest on Fixed Deposit . . .	32 12 0		
	<u>Rs. 3,384 8 2</u>		<u>Rs. 3,384 8 2</u>

CALCUTTA,
29th January 1937.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
Chartered Accountants.
Registered Accountants.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INDEX FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December 1936.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS	
To Balance at 1st Jan., 1936.		By Bank Charges	0 1 0
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.		Balance at 31st December, 1936.	
On Current Account . . .	969 1 7	With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.	
		On Current Account . .	969 0 7
	<u>Rs. 969 1 7</u>		<u>Rs. 969 1 7</u>

CALCUTTA,
29th January 1937.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
Chartered Accountants.
Registered Accountants.

. When proposing the adoption of the Annual Report Major H. Hobbs in the course of his remarks said :

This Society was formed in April 1907 to revive interest as Sir Evan Cotton wrote at the time, "in a vanished and forgotten India."

At an Historical Society's dinner held on August 24, 1908, Mr. Justice Holmwood, in the course of his remarks, referred to a letter he had seen in the papers which charged the members with "patronising history from a lofty and exalted platform."

During the early part of last year I went through every volume of *Bengal : Past and Present*, and I am now going through them again with renewed pleasure and interest. There seems to be little that is patronising or exalted in its pages but it ranks high as a standard work on British Indian history, is constantly quoted by writers on various subjects, while old records, which must in the usual course decay, are saved from oblivion.

In 1907 some 200 people joined this Society. Among them were High Court Judges, Members of the Indian Civil Service, Indian Army Officers, distinguished members of great Indian families, and business men, who came forward, not only with their subscriptions, but with contributions to the Society's magazine. It will be a tragedy if, for lack of quite a small sum of money, this Society has to shut down.

It looks as if the immense fortunes made during the Great War turned men envious or greedy. With greed came meanness. Then came the craze for Economy, which did more to scupper the trade of the world than anything yet devised, while Politics and the restlessness that comes with it have diverted the minds of cultured Indians from more peaceful and profitable pursuits. Whatever is the main cause, all have combined to hit this Society in the banking account.

Five years ago, Sir Stanley Jackson, after referring to the excellent aims and objects with which the Society was founded, said—"There will always be, I like to think, persons among us willing and qualified to probe the past, to gather the loose ends of history, to throw fresh light from original sources on matters of doubt and controversy. It is desirable," he said, "I might almost say necessary that there should be some forum where persons with these interests should meet for the discussion and interchange of their ideas: the Society provides this forum."

He further stated, "And finally speaking as a Governor I can assure you that the Society's journal is an ever-present help in trouble when places of historical interest have to be visited and a speech is expected from the hard-worked head of the Province!.....This Journal must be kept going at all costs." (*Bengal : Past and Present* Vol. XLII pages 66-67.)

Surely it is not too much to hope that we may yet have among our members the High Court Judges, Indian Civil Service, Indian Army,

and the heads of the great mercantile house, British and Indian. If copies of Bengal : Past and Present were taken for their various libraries in Mills, Engineering works and Colliery districts, Garrison Libraries and Colleges the Calcutta Historical Society could carry on. The Minister for Education might make a small grant in recognition of the good work the Society has been doing during the past 30 years to encourage members to greater effort in the future.

One thing is certain—there always will be a past. There will always be those who are interested in bygone days. The deeds, misdeeds, mistakes, misfortunes, gallantry and failings of those who, long ago, have had "paid" put to their account yet who did something towards helping this great continent along the road of progress are as certain to interest future generations as they interest so many of us. The records are on paper which perishes ; it is our duty to keep as much of our history alive as we can. It pays honour to the dead and encourages the living. There are no politics in this Society—no racial prejudices on either side. Our meetings are full of peace and harmony and close with mutual respect, tinged with the regret that they are so few and far between.

And now for a sad note of farewell. Mr. Narendranath Ganguly is under orders for Delhi and the only way to get into touch with him will be by letter. He has been connected with the Society for 13 years and I must testify to the help he has always given me whenever I have asked for it. On our list of officers he ranks as "Honorary Manager." and "Assistant Editor" But, as he is practically running the journal he is much more than that. Under a modest unassuming air he conceals wide knowledge and the true historian's mind. Nothing does he take for granted. Once on the trail he goes right back to the source. When he is convinced that it is correctly stated and dated—then it is placed on record.

In testifying to his many good qualities and expressing regret at his departure I would like to see his cheerful ability and industry recognised in some suitable way. I am much in his debt for work unselfishly done, and it gives me great pleasure to pay tribute to so worthy a member of the Calcutta Historical Society.

Well, gentlemen, I hope every effort will be made to put our Society on its feet. A letter might be sent to leading people in law, administration, army, and business. The subscription is modest enough and I am sure it but needs pointing out to many of our fellow citizens, British and Indian, to rouse them to a sense of our needs and their duty.

Nawabzada A.S.M. Latifur Rahman seconded, it was carried unanimously.

Mon. A. Lohuraux proposed that the same office-bearers of last year be re-elected, this was seconded by Nawabzada A.S.M. Latifur Rahman and carried unanimously.

Mr. A.F.M. Abdul Ali, the Hony. Secy. of the Society, proposed that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A. Ph.D., be elected as a Joint Hony. Secretary—which was carried unanimously.

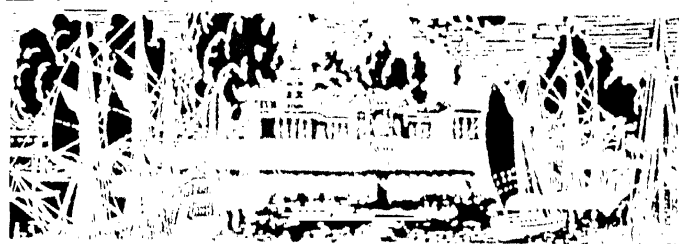
Major Harry Hobs generously offered to accommodate the Library of the Society in his office at 9 Old Court House Street, and placed godown accommodation at the disposal of the Society at No. 12A Marquis Street which the Executive Committee accepted with thanks.

It was proposed from the Chair that a set of Bengal Past & Present so far as was available be presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall as a permanent record of the Society. It was felt that the Memorial authorities might be of help to the Society in relation to exhibits and their period.

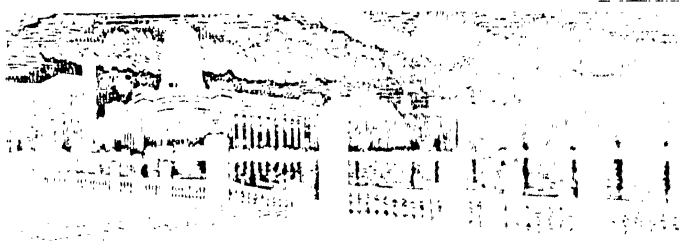
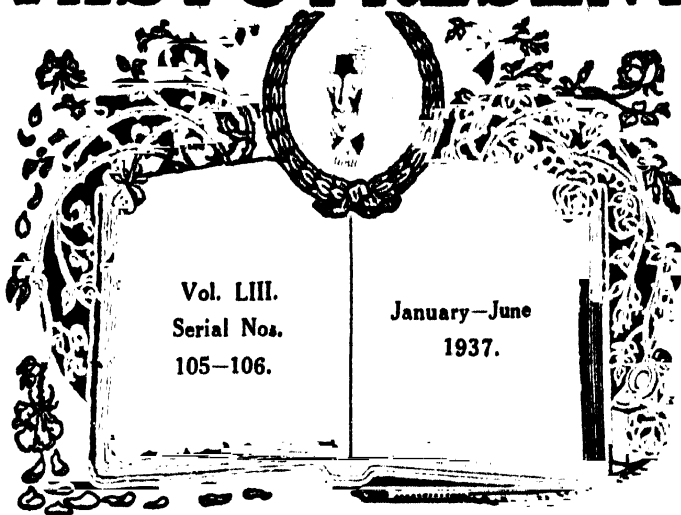
With a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting terminated at 7-30 p.m.

INSTRUCTIONS TO BINDER.

Parts I and II of Volume LIII should be bound together and the Title Page and List of Contents for the combined parts should be inserted at the head of Part I.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

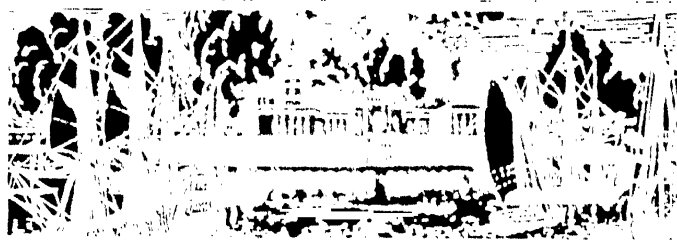
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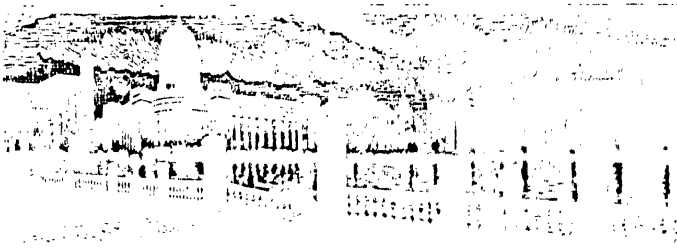
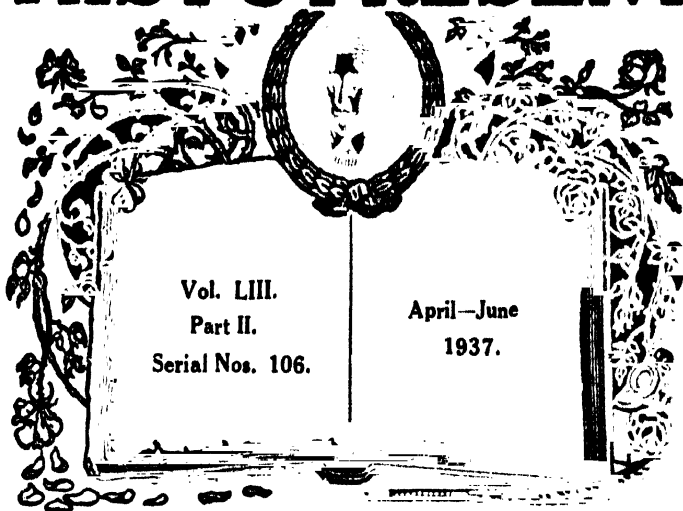
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ILLUSTRATION.

	TO FACE PAGE.
I. REV. ARATHOON SHUMAVON	83

Memoire of Rene Mader.

(Translated from the French MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris
nouvelles acquisitions, fr. 9. 368.)

II

I wrote to the Rajah of the Jats, a people in the neighbourhood of the Ruhelas. He accepted me. I returned the pieces of artillery which had been entrusted to me [by the Ruhelas], and I marched with only my troops for joining the army of the Jats, which was out on campaign.

I joined that army a little near the commencement of the rains [about July 1767.] I was marvellously well received by the Rajah [Jawahir Singh] ; he made me many promises for the future, and these he kept more faithfully than the Ruhelas had done. He gave me for my support the same pay which I had had in the service quitted by me, and he paid me regularly. The reinforcement which I brought to him encouraged him to take the field during the full monsoons. In spite of that, we made no considerable enterprise, not having then found any army strong enough to oppose our operations, so that towards the close of the bad season we retired.

The Rajah entered the city of Dig with his army, and I took the road to Agra where I reposed during the remainder of the bad season.

The Rajah had no child, which grieved him much ; the wife of his brother delivered a son on the return from our campaign ; the joy which the birth of this infant gave him was manifested by public rejoicings which cost much money, and he destined his succession for that infant, [Kesari Singh.]

The Jats, after the ruin of the Empire, were merely private persons ; they followed the example of the Chiefs who possessed wealth and employed it to form armies for rendering themselves sovereigns of different provinces. The father of the Rajah of whom I am speaking [*i.e.*, Suraj Mal, the father of Jawahir Singh] laid siege to Agra fort and made himself master of it ; the reduction of that fort furnished him with all his dependencies.

Agra was built by the Emperor Akbar and was the seat of that Emperor. [The Taj described, called a *Mosquée*.] We see also in that city other mosques, of a rare beauty, but the city has been entirely destroyed by the continual wars which have raged in this country since time immemorial, so that there is nothing large here nowadays except the fort which the Rajah [Suraj Mal], father of the reigning one, had caused to be [re-]built. As for the rest, we see nothing but the most consilerable ruins (*vestiges*) in the world. In arriving at the city one has to march during three or four hours, in the midst

of ruins on all sides, where one notices, however, the beauty and extent of the buildings and the gardens which composed it ; in short, it is one desolation.

The Rajah [Jawahir Singh] not having any infant of his own, as I have said, adopted the son of his brother as his successor ; and some time after our arrival he pretended a pilgrimage to a place named Pohkar [=Pushkar], near Ajmir, which [latter city] the Muslims hold in veneration in a superior degree. As it was less for carrying out a vow than for picking a trumpety quarrel with the Rajah of Jainagar, he demanded passage through the territory of this neighbour, who had been the most powerful prince of this country and who was so still. The Jat wished to march with his army ; but the Rajah of Jainagar did not wish to grant passage except for a certain number of troops, giving it as his reason that one does not need an army for going to make a pilgrimage. The Jat took no notice of it, and set his army on the march, at the head of which he arrived at the holy place.

During the time that he was resting there, the Rajah of Jainagar, piqued at the Jat's entrance into his country in warlike array, assembled his army with a view to opposing our return. We expected to find this army in our path. In fact, when we were at a certain distance from the city of Jainagar, the army of the Rajah appeared, composed of 60,000 horsemen. We pursued our route with a view to passing a large defile (1), which we had to traverse. Before engaging our army in a combat, we sent all our baggages ahead to make them pass through the defile first ; we followed them close behind, but we could not prevent the army of Jainagar from coming up to us.

As the enemy were uncertain as to which path we should take in order to enter the mountains which we had to traverse, they could not bar the passage, and we made a counter-march which perplexed them. To add to this, their artillery and their infantry could not arrive in time.

We were filing through a very spacious hillock, and when we were in the midst of it, the Jainagar army appeared. We always made our baggages march ahead with orders to go and wait three leagues in front. We put ourselves in battle order and waited for the enemy with firm feet. The battle began about noon ; the Jainagar cavalry attacked ours and put it to flight ; our horsemen in saving themselves arrived at the place where our baggages were, and cried out that all was lost. The baggages were abandoned, and the peasants plundered them in part.

Seeing our cavalry give way, I opposed to the enemy's efforts a firm countenance which astonished them. There was in the service of the Jats another partisan, a German named Sombre, who laboured in this affair with all the bravery and prudence of a great soldier. We occupied different posts ; we worked, on the part of both of us, so [hard] that we gained the battle.

There was a loss of more than 10,000 men, in the army of Jainagar and ours taken together ; nearly all the general officers of the enemy's army perished.

(1) The pass of Maonda, about sixty miles due north of Jaipur. Battle on 14th December, 1767.

Not having any of our baggages, we abandoned the field of battle and marched all the night for overtaking them ; but they not being discovered and the army being tired out, we found ourselves in a sad situation.

We marched four days before finding our baggages, that is to say, what had escaped the pillage of the peasants. The difficulty of the roads obliged us to abandon some pieces of cannon. We, however, arrived at Dig, but very much fatigued. * * *

On the return from our campaign to Dig, the Rajah testified his recognition of the success of the battle, to which I had contributed. He gave me presents and increased my pay of Rs. 5,000 per month ; he ordered me to augment my troops, but the difficulty of procuring European arms prevented me from raising more than 250 additional men.

A short time after, the army of the Jainagar Rajah appeared in its turn in the country of the Jats for taking revenge ; it was composed of more than 60,000 men. The Jats, not feeling themselves strong enough to resist (2), called the Sikhs to their aid,—on seeing which the Rajputs retired to their own country after ravaging and pillaging the country which they found on their way. After this, they being on their frontier and we on ours, terms of accommodation were proposed, which were accepted by both sides and peace was made. The Sikhs were given leave to depart, and everyone returned to his own government.

But the war which continually raged in this country resulted in my not remaining long at rest. The Rajah sent me with a party of his own troops, to lay siege to a very large fort in the country of a Rajput, his neighbour. The siege was long and laborious. I remained there a month and a half without gaining any great advantage. Having blown up one of the principal bastions, I wished to deliver the assault, but the enemy repulsed me, as I was not seconded by the Rajah's troops whom the terrible fire of the besieged had put to flight. I held firmly to the foot of the breach for delivering assault a second time ; the enemy, on seeing this and fearing to be put to the edge of the sword, abandoned the fort. The Jats put a garrison there and we returned to our country.

Having completed my mission with all possible success, I was received by the Rajah with marks of satisfaction ; he greatly praised the manner in which I had distinguished myself in that operation. He presented to me a beautiful horse, many aigrettes of diamond, and many cloths of gold and silver. He assured me of the confidence he had in me, and wished that I should make cannon on my account, and should increase my troops. I was, on my part, sensible of his truthfulness, and my zeal increased every day for his interests. I cast four pieces of four (pounds) which succeeded very well. I mounted them in the European style with all the rules of the art, and I made the munition waggons and munitions accordingly. But the poor Rajah had not the pleasure of seeing them.

(2) They were defeated by the Jaipur army outside Kama on 29th Feb., 1768.

One day, having gone to a very beautiful garden which he had outside the city, for causing his elephants to fight, he was assassinated by a man whom nobody has yet been able to recognise, and who cut his head off with one stroke of his sword. Immediately the men of the Rajah fell on the assassin and hacked him to pieces and disfigured him so much that no one could know who the man was. [C. 4th June, 1768.]

This death caused a general consternation ; it touched me the more that I had lost a prince whom I loved and by whom I was loved. He had all the qualities that characterise a great man : he was brave and enterprising, liberal and frank ; he would have gone far if a premature death had not taken him off as soon as he had commenced to execute his grand designs. He had completed the fortifications which his father had commenced. Dig, Kumbher and Bharatpur are impregnable by any prince of these countries ; his finances were considerable, and his people less troubled than all the other [princes' subjects.] In short, he was the terror of all his neighbours.

His brother [Ratan Singh] succeeded him, but did not reign long, having had the same fate, as we shall see later. The new Rajah confirmed all that his predecessor had granted to me, and exhorted me to serve him with the same fidelity and zeal with which I had served his brother. He increased my pay, in consequence of the four pieces of cannon and the new recruits whom I had enlisted and with whom I had augmented my force. He made a petty campaign in which he undertook nothing considerable.

On his return he went to encamp at Vrindavan, a small city situated on the Jamuna. This place is held in great veneration by the Hindus. They pretend that their [Divine] lawgiver was born at this place. There is all the year a concourse of innumerable people here, above all during the *Holi* (3), which is the most solemn of all their festivities. The place is surrounded by very beautiful gardens, which are its ornament and also serve to lodge the grantees and the people whom the feast attracts.

It was on the occasion of this festivity that the Rajah made preparations for celebrating it with more magnificence than his predecessors had done. He placed tents a half league along the road, caused considerable quantities of food to be provided, and assembled more than 4,000 dancing girls ; [from this] one can judge of the expense, which was excessive.

The Rajah had with himself a man (4) celebrated in all the arts of magic and other [branches] known in these countries. This impostor had free access to the prince, and lived there as a favourite. He said that he knew the secret of making gold ; in consequence the Rajah advanced to him certain sums for putting this talent to practice. But he passed a long time without giving proof of his knowledge. One day, at the end of this festivity, the Rajah asked to see the gold which this man said he had made ; but the man, excusing himself on the ground that it had not yet reached its perfection, promised him to labour at it. The Rajah, little satisfied with the reasons

(3) In 1769 the *Holi* fell on 22 March.

(4) Rupānand, a Vaishnav or Vairagi Gosain.

which were alleged to him, threatened to impale him if he deceived him. Either due to fear or premeditated design, the alchemist told him that he would work before him that very night.

In short, he arranged his furnaces in the circle of his tents and feigned to work there. It was already late, and the Rajah was lying on his cushion-bed (*chārpāi*) when the impostor approached him and begged him to make his attendants withdraw, saying that they were disturbing him in his work. The Rajah ordered all his men to retire, and when that man found himself alone with the Rajah, he approached, having a dagger tied to his leg, which he drew out and thrust into the Rajah's stomach and did not pull it out till he had cut his intestines. At the cries of the Rajah his servants entered his tent; the villain wounded many of the servants in trying to save himself, but he was cut to pieces. [8 April, 1769.]

Thus ended this prince after having reigned only about a year. Before expiring, he called the General of his army [*Dān Shāh*] in order to recommend to him his son, for placing him on the throne and maintaining him there.

It was very necessary that the Rajah [*Ratan Singh*] should have possessed the same virtues as his predecessor brother. He had far inferior qualities of the heart; he was inclined to debauchery among all classes, and continually exhausted himself,—which had rendered him impotent. None regretted him; on the contrary no displeasure was aroused when he gave place to his son [*Kesari S.*], although the latter was of a very tender age.

The General whom the Rajah had recommended to make the people submit to his son, left Vrindavan for going to Dig, where he assembled all the officers of the army and those of all the posts in the environs. He caused the young prince to be recognised [as Rajah]; he sent troops to the different provinces which had revolted after the death of the Rajah, in order to make them submit to his son. I, too, was sent there with my followers, but no sooner had I departed than he repented of it; he recalled me, but I could not arrive as promptly as he desired, because of the distance at which I was.

As the General (5) was not of the family of the Rajahs, the royal kindred, fearing lest he should seize the authority, profited by the dispersion of the troops to rob the General of the absolute power of which he was possessed; they hatched a conspiracy against him in order to deprive him of the regency and also of the command of the army. The deceased Rajah had two illegitimate brothers; they united for driving the regent General out and destroying him if they could. They won the troops and the inhabitants over little by little, and having brought over to their interests the chief officers, they invested the palace of the regent which was in the fort, where the powder-magazine also was situated, which the General was guarding by means of the men who still remained faithful to him. On being summoned to surrender, he threatened to explode the magazine, if they did not grant him honourable capitulation with his life. The two claimants granted him both, and caused him to be conducted outside the territory of the young prince.

(5) *Dān Shāh*, whose sister was married to *Nawal Singh*.

I arrived just on the day that the General issued from the fort. I employed [agents] before the two rivals with the result that they treated him with as much humanity as possible, but I could not alter the order for his proscription.

The two claimants who had been united for the purpose of driving out the regent, were very soon disunited in disputing about the authority. The junior [Ranjit Singh] is said to have been born of a mother belonging to a family that was free and of distinguished birth. The elder [Nawal S.] had not, in truth, this advantage over his brother, but he used a very great policy. He saw all the general officers and chiefs of parties to demand their votes ; he addressed himself chiefly to me. Seeing that his claims were just, I did not hesitate to give him my vote, with my word of honour to espouse his cause on the present occasion.

His younger brother, who soon learnt of his secret dealings, sought for means to surprise him and make him a prisoner at Bharatpur. But having discovered his design, the elder placed himself on his guard and accomplished what he had begun. He assembled the chiefs of the army and other officers, and was proclaimed regent. His brother had been formerly made Governor of Kumbher, in consideration of his mother ; there remained for him no other course to take than to retire to his own government.

The reigning regent, incensed by the treachery which his brother had wished to practise on him, caused the army of the Rajah to march for laying siege to Kumbher and making his enemy prisoner.

The governor seeing the regent advancing towards his city, and not having sufficient troops for resisting so powerful an army, called the Sikhs and the Marathas to his succour. We commenced the siege, and it was already nearly a month since we were before the place when the Sikhs entered the country with an army of 70,000 men, both cavalry and infantry. We did not wait for them ; we raised the siege in order to march for encountering them.

The third day of the march, I found myself with my troop, in advance of our army at a distance from the army. Believing that the army was following me, I encamped. I was only four leagues from the Sikhs. The next morning ; I took four companies and two pieces of cannon ; I mounted on my elephant and advanced two leagues for discovering the enemy's army. I perceived their tents ; they were aware that I was advancing towards them with a weak detachment.

They set out on the march with all their army for [attacking me] and came up with me near a small village on which I rested. I was advanced too far to be able to fall back ; it was necessary for me to sustain the efforts of the enemy. I stood firmly from four hours after morning up to noon, but my munitions failing and having lost nearly a hundred men out of the 500 that I had—or about that number,—I was compelled to enter into the village, where I defended myself for three hours. Then our army appeared, happily for me. As soon as the Sikhs saw this, they abandoned me in order to advance to the front of that army.

The two armies fought together, but the action lasted only a short time. They had lost many of their men in the fight with me, and at the first attacks of our army the enemy fled away with loose reins, and did not stop before [covering] 30 leagues from the field of battle, and they retreated at once to their own country, and have not reappeared since then.

The Marathas, also called in by the Rajah's brother, had arrived with a formidable army while we were occupied with the Sikhs. This army encamped under the walls of Kumbher.

Our army retraced its steps, and we encamped under the fire of the Dig [fort guns], where we passed nearly a month in watching on both sides and in making skirmishes ('petty war'.) At the end of that time the Maratha army set out on march for going to Mathura. Our own put itself in movement for barring the road ; they made ready for giving battle ; we marched very slowly ; and hence it was five or six hours from the evening when the cannon firing began.

Battle of Sonk-Ahring, 6 April 1770.

I occupied the right wing of the army ; the action began on both sides with much heat and we continued always [in that manner.] The left wing of the enemy's army was so strongly inconvenienced by my fire that it was constrained to give way. They depleted their right wing in order to succour their left wing. I had formed my battalion in square. I was attacked on three faces at once, and I repulsed them inspite of the number that surrounded me. I kept fighting for sometime in this manner, but I was not at all supported by the troops of the Rajah ; on the contrary he sent me in the eleventh hour an aide-de-camp to tell me to think of withdrawing myself from the unbarassing situation as I could best, because he was going to retire under cover of the night, fearing that on the day coming his army would perish entirely. His troops were already saved by the darkness.

I thought about retreat on seeing myself without resources ; the night prevented me from seeing all the disorder which had taken place among my troops ; I could not find any officer for executing my orders. The troops of the Rajah who were fleeing, not knowing on which side to turn, came to throw themselves in crowds upon my battalion in square and broke it.

The Marathas, knowing that the troops of the Rajah were routed, gave chase and finding me in their path attacked me in large numbers. I defended myself still for some time, but seeing that all were fleeing I found myself in the last degree of embarrassment. All were cut up and put to flight ; I remained with 7 or 8 horsemen, and not knowing to which side to march, I put my horse to chance in the crowd and traversed the Maratha army without being recognised, and I was so lucky as to arrive at Dig, where the debris of the army also came little by little.

The Rajah lost his artillery, his elephants, his baggages. I had fourteen hundred men killed or wounded, that is all that I had been able to bring to the battle ; all my horses, elephants, camels, arms, munitions, and six pieces

of cannon were lost, so that my force was totally destroyed ; nothing remained except the men whom I had left for guarding the camp which was under the walls of Dig, as also the wounded who had escaped in the action with the Sikhs. The Marathas lost nearly 5,000 men, but they did not notice it for the sake of such a great victory which spread terror throughout all India. They compelled the regent Rajah [Nawal S.] to partition with his brother the country which he possessed ; he was given possession for 20 lakhs and had [to promise] to pay sixty more to the Marathas in the course of three years.

Such hard terms put the Rajah out of condition to entertain a powerful army, and the agreement being completed the Marathas marched to the frontiers.

We did not think of anything except how to re-establish the army ; the general officers had orders to labour on their part to that effect ; the Rajah gave money and furnished a portion of what was necessary for it. He gave me the same orders and indemnified me for the greater part of what I had lost in the battle, and honoured me with the rank of a 5-hazari, above which there are only two other grades.

I worked with ardour to form my force ; I sent men to the Maratha army to buy [back] my muskets ; I had not much trouble in recovering them, [the Marathas] not having any use for them.

I gave orders to all my workshops, which were at Agra, to manufacture all things. I caused to be made twelve pieces of cannon, four pounders, and a mortar of 50 lb. ; all these were made ready and brought to the camp in the space of two months. I took recruits who were drilled during all the winter [=rainy season.] In short, I found myself at the head of a force much stronger than what it was before the battle.

We rested long under the walls of Dig, as there was no occasion for any enterprise ; all this interval was employed in perfecting and disciplining my troops.

The great distance from Bengal at which I was,—my not having any European correspondence and being ignorant also during many years whether the French nation had returned to the Indies, made me lose all hope of becoming useful to them, when I learnt that the factory of Chandernagore was re-established and that M. Chevalier was in command there. I was already fed up with the wars in the midst of which I had lived since my arrival in the Indies, and above all with pouring my blood for all others than my native land. I found myself at the head of an honourable fortune and knew not how to take myself there in order to assure it for me.

The eager desire of returning to France had occupied my heart during the last three or four years. I had written to the Viceroy of Goa to give me an asylum in that city and the means of passing over to Europe. He made me a very flattering reply and promised to do for me in this matter all that lay in his power in order to prove to me the esteem for me which the reputation I enjoyed had given to him. It was at this time that I received a letter

from M. Chevalier, the Commandant of Chandernagore, when I was least expecting it ; it was dated the 2nd of April, 1771. [The Commandant of Chandernagore wrote to Madec that all that life of a mercenary soldier would not lead him anywhere, that he ought to push himself by making himself recognised by the King of France as the result of great services rendered to the Nation. Chevalier further made himself a guarantor for the favours of the French Ministry if Madec followed the path which he (Chevalier) was indicating to him.]

I replied to the obliging letter of M. Chevalier that I did not know how I could make myself useful to my native land in a country so distant from the colonies which she had as that which I was then inhabiting ;—that I desired nothing, in truth, over and above the fortune which I enjoyed, but that I had formed the design of passing on to Europe in order to enjoy peacefully there the fruits of my labours ; and I requested him to send me the necessary passports for the purpose.

My forces being re-established and in a condition to enter into campaigns, I departed from Dig in order to go to subdue certain places which had revolted and to make them pay the revenue. That campaign passed so, nothing great having taken place. It being the approach of the rains, I returned to quarters for cantoning. I attended during that period of tranquillity to increasing my troops, drilling them, and procuring the necessary munitions ; and further I made [my workmen] labour at all repairs with assiduity, and put myself in a condition to confront a powerful army. I was still at Agra when I received the reply of M. Chevalier to the letter which I had written to him asking for passports from him. It was dated the 20th January, 1772 and to the following purport : [Chevalier informed Madec that he was pleased to see his military forces increasing and his fortune growing day by day. He insisted on the point that a judicious employment of these forces could render to the Nation immense services about which he had already talked in his previous letter. He continued, "Our natural allies are the Marathas who at this time hold the Emperor. The true policy for France is to bring about, in concert with the Marathas and the Mughal Court, an attack on the English in Bengal. Your policy, therefore, is for you to take service with the Great Mughal. Tell that Prince that we entertain in the Isle of France a corps of 12,000 men. You boldly offer him two or three thousand Frenchmen to be taken into his small army, if he will give assurances for their passage and pay."]

Such strong reasons and my love for the good of my country decided me. I replied to M. Chevalier that I would second his views to the best of my power and that I was ready to sacrifice the eagerness to return to France which dominated me to the zeal which I have always had for the service of the King. I promised him that . . . in case our Nation made a descent into Bengal I would go to join it with 10,000 men at my expense, and that finally I was ready to sacrifice everything for rendering service to my Fatherland and deserving the honourable recompense which he made me hope for.

The regent Rajah [Nawal S.], on seeing the Marathas occupied in placing the Emperor on the throne, and not fearing to be troubled by them in his

operations, undertook to seize one part of the territory which he had been compelled to cede to his brother by force. For doing this he sent me with a body of cavalry into the country of Mewat [modern Alwar State.]

I remained engaged for two months in subduing the inhabitants and exacting contributions, but I did not attack any place, my force being very large. I only held the troops close together while I collected the money. This expedition having been concluded, I returned to the Court, and some days after my arrival I received a third letter from M. Chevalier, dated Chandernagore, the 24 July, 1772, of the following tenure. [See Barbé's *Le Nabab René Madec*, pp. 73-75.]

Very soon after my return from Mewat to Dig I was sent with a part of the army to the other side of the Jamuna [*i.e.*, the Doab] for levying contributions. On the way I attacked two small forts of little importance and subdued the country, after which the regent married. I returned in order to assist at his marriage [celebrations.] The preparations being ready, he departed from Dig with all the army, in order to go to the place indicated for the ceremony, that is to say, to two days' distance from the city.

The marriage ceremony was most brilliant, and it being finished he returned to Dig with his guards only, and sent his army to lay siege to a fort [=two forts] of which he had confided the charge to two of his relatives, who finding themselves masters there gained the troops over and turned rebels.

After the approaches had been made, we attacked the first, and we reduced it after fifteen days of open trenches. It surrendered on condition of safety to life. We put a garrison in, and marched against the other which was much the larger.

We attacked it according to the ordinary rules, but it gave us trouble and held out during a month and a half with open trenches. At the end of that period it capitulated on the same conditions as the first. There were 28 pieces of cannon in the place. We lost more than a thousand men; the besieged were conducted outside the kingdom; we put a garrison in this fort and worked to restore the fortifications. After this, the army marched to Mathura, where the Rajah was then. I was very well received by him; he manifested his gratitude to me, as also to the chief officers of the army, to whom he gave presents. He gave me an elephant, some aigrettes of precious stones, some pieces of rich stuff and a good sword.

After this, I went to Agra to pass the rainy season in quarters; but as the Marathas infested the country, the Rajah regent considered it expedient to summon me to Bharatpur with my troops, for passing the bad season there. I laboured at reestablishing my troops and procuring the munitions necessary for the repair of my artillery.

During this time M. du Jarday, sent by M. Chevalier to the different Princes for making alliances with them, arrived. He had orders to work in concert with me, and to conform to the instructions which my long experience had put me in a condition to give him. His instructions were to try to induce me to pass into the service of the princes who could be of use to the Nation.

* * * During this interval, the Rajah regent assembled his army to march against the Emperor [who had invaded Jat territory.] I, finding myself the first ready to depart, marched in advance with my troops, who numbered 3,000 men, both Europeans and country cavalry and infantry, but well-armed and disciplined, all newly dressed, with eight pieces of fieldguns. A cavalry general [of the Jats] marched with me, at the head of 2,000 horse.

[Oct. 1772]. I marched to encounter the troops of the Emperor, and at my approach his soldiers abandoned the country as well as some petty forts which they had seized, but without our attacking them. The Emperor, finding that I was his stumbling block, pressed on to conclusion the arrangement with me which he had proposed. I was still in negotiation when I received the fifth letter of M. Chevalier, dated the 4th December (6), 1772, containing the following [see Barbé, pp. 82-83.]

I am to receive [from the Emperor] Rs. 40,000 per month, with power to add to my troops up to any number I may consider good. I am to receive the title of Nawab, and they sent me the patent of it.

This pact being concluded, I returned to Dig, without receiving any order of the regent. This step caused me to be suspected of having some understanding with the Emperor, and they began to watch me carefully. On the day of my arrival I encamped outside the city and beyond cannon-shot. That very night I departed with 50 horse and foot and the carriages necessary for the transport of my family and my effects which were at Bharatpur. I arrived before that city six hours from the morning and I employed that day in preparing my baggages for transport to my camp before Dig. I sent men to Agra and to all the villages and gardens which belonged to me, giving orders to the soldiers who were guards there to come and rejoin me ; but they could not arrive that day. The regent, seeing that I had quitted my post without orders to go to Dig, knew my design very soon. He caused me to be watched, and having learnt that I had departed for Bharatpur with a detachment, he guessed rightly that I was going to remove my family and my property. He immediately ordered the troops within his reach to oppose my enterprise. He also sent orders on the road from Bharatpur to Dig, by which the peasants took up their arms and opposed me. This could not be done so secretly that I was not informed of it. I knew all the danger to which I was going to be exposed with my family and the difficulty which I should have in rejoining my corps, with such a small number of troops as I had brought with me. There was no time to be lost. I hastened the arrangement of my affairs ; and at four hours of the night, all being ready, I set out with my family and everything that I possessed in the world.

At eight hours of the night, having passed four leagues, I encountered a troop of the Rajah. The chief who commanded it asked to speak to me on behalf of the regent. I allowed him to approach. He told me that he had been sent to request me to go to the Court. I replied that I was going to rejoin my camp and that it was too late. At the same time I ordered my

(6) The month is wrong. It should be 4th October, i.e., X^e mois and not X bre.

baggages to march and go ahead, [while] I remained talking with the chief. At the end of an hour, I thought that it was time to rejoin my baggages. I quitted the troop of the Rajah. The chief summoned me to follow him, for going to speak to the regent. Seeing that I was not obeying him, he began to fire on my detachment. I at once put out the lights and I replied to his fire. The peasants of the neighbourhood, who had received the regent's orders, on hearing the noise of musket fire assembled. Other troops also arrived, and I found myself engaged in a most serious affair against an entire body of the Rajah's forces, while I had with myself not more than a hundred men. My greatest anxiety was about my camp. I felt assured that if it was attacked while I was not present, terror would reign there and that it would be put to flight by the regent. These thoughts made me hasten my march in order to join it before morning. With that object I was obliged to abandon to the troops of the Rajah three pieces of cannon which I was removing from Bharatpur, as also many carriages loaded with my principal effects. The Rajah's troops continued fighting me up to the entrance to my camp, where I arrived about three hours after daybreak. Then the pursuers left me, and my arrival reassured the spirits of my followers filled with consternation. I caused the alarm to be beaten at once and departed for Kama.

The chief who had pursued me was called upon to give an account of what had happened. He reassembled his army and held it ready to attack me at break of day, for preventing me from making my retreat. He caused my steps to be watched ; and at the first movement which I made to take the road, I had the Rajah's army pursuing me and all the peasants of the neighbourhood, who are more dangerous on these occasions than the regular troops. This army, including the peasants, was not less than a hundred thousand men. I formed an elongated hollow square ; within which I placed my baggage ; and I marched in this manner constantly fighting. The Rajah's cavalry made astonishing efforts to break my battalion, with the design of seizing my family. But my continued fire of musketry rendered their efforts useless. They made all sorts of manœuvres in order to prevent me from passing a large marsh (*jhil*) which I had to cross. I halted in order to send two pieces of cannon in single file to the other side, with a view to help the passage of my equipages. At that moment, the troops of the Rajah redoubled their efforts, and I received a musket wound through my arm ; I [then] opened a terrible fire which scattered my enemies a little. As soon as my baggage had crossed, I passed through the marsh. On the other bank I was in the territory of the Rajah of Jainagar. The army of the Jat Rajah stayed for a long time watching me, and they retired at night after seeing me encamped under the walls of Kama. I lost in this action more than two hundred men in killed and wounded together and some camels. I saved the rest of the baggage which had escaped the first attack.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Sir Charles Imhoff and The Family of Imhoff.⁽¹⁾

1. No standard work of reference contains biographical details of General Sir Charles Imhoff. The account in paragraph 2 below has been compiled from the 'Record of Old Westminster,' 1928, and the 'Harrow School Register 1571-1800,' 1934.

2. He was born at Nuremberg, 1766; second son of Christophe Adam Karl, Baron von Imhof, by his wife Anna Maria Apollonia (who re-married, as his second wife, Warren Hastings), daughter of Baron von Chapuset; went to India with his parents; returned to Europe with his father. Went to Harrow School, 1780; admitted to Westminster School, 19 Mar., 1781; matriculated Magdalen College, Oxford, 18 Nov., 1785. Ensign 49th Foot, 24 June, 1783; half-pay 1783-99, during which period he served in one of the Prince of Waldeck's regiments, 1786-93 (appointed thereto on the recommendation of Queen Charlotte) and later in Berkshire Militia. Lieut. 1st Life Guards, 29 Mar., 1799; Capt., 4 Apr., 1799; Major 4th Foot, 20 Nov., 1801; Lieut.-Col. (half-pay) 5 Feb., 1802; 4th Garrison Battalion, 17 Sept., 1807; in command at Jersey, 1809-12; Colonel in the army, 4 June, 1811; Major-General, 4 June, 1814; Lieutenant-General, 20 July, 1830; General, 9 Nov., 1846; died 14 Feb., 1853, aged eighty-six. Married 19 Feb., 1795, Charlotte, 6th (?) daughter of Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart. On 18 May, 1807, received the Royal Licence to accept the insignia of a Knight Grand Commander of the Order of St. Joachim. In 1813 the use of the title "Sir" by holders of foreign knighthoods was officially discontinued, without application, however, to those who already did this.

3. Some small details may be added. He died without issue, and was buried at Daylesford, which he had inherited from his mother. His wife was buried at Kensal Green on 20 Mar., 1847 (why not at Daylesford or in the Blunt vault at Heathfield, Sussex?) According to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxv. 166, she was third and not sixth daughter: which is correct?

4. Shaw ('Knights of England,' ii. 309) states that Imhoff was a Knight Bachelor. Is there any foundation for this, save his membership of the Order of St. Joachim? Was this Order German or Swedish—I have seen both nationalities ascribed to it? Was Imhoff naturalised as a British subject? Were any British subjects Knights of the Order? And if so, did they dub themselves "Sir"?

5. A Count Julius von Soden, a relative by marriage of Mrs. Hastings, is stated to have been Prior of the Order when Imhoff was elected a member (S. C. Grier, 'Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife,' p. 463), which may

(1) From Notes and Queries, October 3, 1936, with acknowledgments.

suggest favour or patronage ; but I have seen it stated that Imhoff paid a substantial sum for his knighthood, and that Warren Hastings was offered the same dignity but declined. The negotiations, whatever they were, appear to have been completed by January, 1807 (Report on R. Rawdon Hastings MSS., iii. 326).

6. For William Hickey's meeting with Charles and Julius Imhoff when boys, see his 'Memoirs,' vol. ii., 248. For Julius, the younger brother, see my letter in *The Times Lit. Supp.*, 14 Dec., 1933.

7. For the Imhoff who was (Dutch) Governor of Ceylon, see 'List of Inscriptions on Tombstones or Monuments in Ceylon,' by J. Penry Lewis, C.M.G. (Colombo, 1913), p. 109. Gustaaf Willem, Baron von Imhoff, was born at Leer on the Eems (Westphalia, E. Friesland), 8 Aug., 1705, and was son of Willem Hendrik, Baron von Imhoff, and Isabella Sophia Boreel. He entered the service of the Dutch East India Company in 1725 as *onderkoopman* ; was Governor of Ceylon 23 July, 1736, to 12 Mar., 1740, and Governor-General 2 Dec., 1740. He was placed under arrest and sent back to Holland, arriving there 19 Sept., 1741 ; but the States-General confirmed him in his office. He died in Batavia, 1 Nov., 1750. He married in 1734, Catharina Maria Huysman (she d. in Batavia, 22 July, 1744), daughter of the Director-General, Antony Huysman, and Joanna Catharina Pelgrom. The only child of this marriage was Jacob Wilhelm Balthazar von Imhoff, b. Batavia, 20 Mar., 1735, d. Colombo, 13 Dec., 1736. But Imhoff had natural children by one Helene Peeters, who were legitimatized by the Prince of Orange and continued in the title :

(i) Jan. Willem, Baron van Imhoff, b. 3 Apr., 1747 ; m. Christina Emerens, daughter of Baron Lewe.

(ii) Isabelle Antonia, b. May, 1748.

(iii) Wilhelmina Sophia, b. 23 Sept., 1749, d. before 24 Oct., 1750.

The relationship between the Governor of Ceylon and Sir C. Imhoff has never been satisfactorily determined ; but S. C. Grier conjectured ('Bengal : Past and Present,' vii. 231) that Baron Christophe was either first cousin or brother of Baron Gustaaf Willem. Christophe was of the family of Imhof auf Marlach (*ibid.*, v. 335) and came to Nuremberg after the Seven Years' War, in 1763.

The various Imhoff titles existing in 1910 were :

Netherlands. Baron van Imhoff (10 Aug., 1822).

Holy Roman Empire. Baron von Imhof (14 June, 1685).

Bavaria. Baron von Imhof (18 May, 1838). Baron von Imhof (14 Jan., 1877).

Cf. 'Nobilities of Europe,' Ruvigny, 1910, pp. 90, 138.

9. Further information regarding the Imhoffs is asked for. What is known of the Imhofs auf Marlach? Which branches of the family held or hold the above four titles? Where were Sir Charles's parents married? How was he related to the Governor of Ceylon? Did he ever see active service? Do any portraits of him exist?

H. BULLOCK, Major.



REV. ARATHOON SHUMAVON
The Founder of Armenian
Journalism, in 1794.

Madras, the Birth Place of Armenian Journalism.

MADRAS has the honour, and the distinction of being the cradle of British rule and supremacy in India. It was already a great city and an important emporium when Job Charnock, the reputed Founder of Calcutta, hoisted the British flag on the banks of the Hooghly on the 24th day of August, 1690. And Bombay, which prides itself on being the *Urbs primus in Indis*, was still in its infancy when Madras was at the zenith of its glory in the commercial world of India. It was good old Madras that gave a Clive to India, and it was from Madras that the "Army of Retribution sailed under Admiral Watson to Bengal in 1756 to avenge the tragedy of the Calcutta" Black Hole".

Amongst the great men that lived and died at Madras and whose names are recorded and emblazoned in the pages of British Indian history as the Founders of a great Empire in the East, we come across a descendant of Cromwell and a grandson of Milton who allured by the glamour of the East and the proverbial "Pagoda Tree", left their beautiful island home to become citizens of 'a no mean city', there to toil and sleep the eternal sleep in the "Land of Regrets", on the Coromandel Coast. But Madras has still its charm for the Britisher as the birthplace of the great British Indian Empire.

And it has an equally abiding charm and fascination for the Armenian, for it was at Madras that Armenian journalism was born in 1794.

An enthusiastic Armenian priest, the vicar of the Armenian Church at Madras, Rev. Arathoon Shumavon, a native of Shiraz in Persia, conceived the happy idea of starting a journal for the Armenian colonists in India and the East, and with commendable zeal he laid the foundation of Armenian journalism, in August, 1794, with 28 subscribers only (1).

His *Azdarar*, or "Intelligencer", was a monthly magazine devoted to social, political, literary and commercial information, in which "Domestic Occurrences", "Reviews of Books", "Answers to correspondents", commercial and shipping advertisements found a place, as in the journals of the present day. But the curious part of the venture was that the energetic Founder of Armenian journalism, in addition to his sacerdotal duties, acted as the editor, the publisher, the compositor and the printer of his paper, and even the paper

(1) It appears from the leading article which is called the Preface, in the first issue of the *Azdarar*, that the English residents of Madras, had, just a month before, started publishing a paper, or a "pamphlet", as our editor calls it, so that the public Press at Madras, which has made great strides during the past hundred years, dates its existence from July 1794.

used in printing the *Azdarar*, was manufactured by him by the primitive method, then in vogue, for making hand-made paper from cotton pulp. A truly journalistic feat indeed, never attempted by any journalist in the history of journalism, for whereas in these days of Rotary presses and time-saving Linotype machines, journalism is a real pleasure it was nothing but a self-imposed task and purely a labour of love in the days when the Rev. Arathoon Shumavon published his *Azdarar* at Madras in 1794.

With such a humble beginning, Armenian journalism has, during the past 143 years, spread all over the civilized world, and to-day there are over a hundred journals and magazines published in all the large cities of Europe, Asia, Africa and America where Armenians are found in large numbers, but by an irony of Fate, India, that gave birth to Armenian journalism, does not possess a single paper to-day in the Armenian language.

It is a crying shame that a wealthy and an advanced community like the Armenians, should not have an organ for the ventilation and the furtherance of communal affairs and racial grievances in these days of stress and strain when events are moving very fast in the Kaliedoscope of India, where the political existence of small communities is in the balance, with "India for the Indians" writ large above.

The life of the *first* Armenian journal was however a short one as it lasted for a year and a half only and died a premature death, for want of sufficient support, which unfortunately has been the bane of Armenian journalism ever since its foundation in 1794.

The venerable Father of Armenian journalism, who was the vicar of the Armenian Church at Madras for 40 years, died on the 9th day of February, 1824, aged 74 years, and his revered grave can be seen to this day in the Armenian churchyard of Madras, with an inscription in classical Armenian.

In response to an appeal which we published in the Armenian journals in Europe and the Homeland, the centenary of the death of the Founder of Armenian journalism was celebrated at all the Armenian centres, including Calcutta, and at the special request of the writer of these lines, a requiem service was held over his revered grave, after the celebration of Holy Mass in the Armenian Church at Madras, on the morning of Saturday, the 9th day of February 1924. And in connection with the hundredth anniversary of the death of the Father of Armenian journalism, we published in the Madras and Calcutta English dailies, an account of the life and the literary activities of the *first* Armenian journalist.

Peace to his soul, rest to his ashes, and may the journalism, which he founded, continue to flourish for the intellectual advancement of a much-persecuted ancient race, which, in the words of Byron, "has partaken of the proscription and bondage of the Jews and of the Greeks, without the sullenness of the former or the servility of the latter."

A few words about the early life of the *first* Armenian editor may be of interest to our readers.

While at Shiraz, the Rev. Arathoon Shumavon had the misfortune to lose his two sons in one week. Overcome by grief, he left his fold and his family and retired from the city. He took up his abode with the Persian

dervishes (anchorites) in the solitude of Babakoh, "far from the madding crowd." This hill, the Parnassus of Shiraz, the seat of Persian literature (Dar-ul-e'l'm), being within easy distance of the city, was the favourite haunt of the two famous Persian poets, Saadi and Hafez, who frequently resorted thither to invoke their muse. The Armenian cemetery of Shiraz nestles at the foot of this hill, and there sleeps the immortal poet, Mesroby David Thaliadian.

For seven long years the bereaved Shumavon remained with the Persian *dervishes* at Babakoh, and being of a studious turn of mind, he studied closely the flowery Persian language by way of diversion, as a salve to his lacerated heart. He mastered the language and distinguished himself as a Persian and Arabic scholar, as can be seen later on.

Yielding eventually to the entreaties of those who were dear and near to him, he returned once more to the city from which he had turned his face. Shortly afterwards he departed from Shiraz, with its melancholy associations, and went to Madras—which at that time (1784) contained an influential and a wealthy Armenian community solely engaged in commerce—as a minister for the Armenian church of that place. The patriotic Armenians of Madras (2) had already shown a praiseworthy zeal for the advancement of classical Armenian literature, and they warmly seconded his endeavours in that direction. He started a printing press at Madras in 1789 for printing and publishing books in the Armenian language for which there was a great demand amongst the Armenian colonists in India and the East. In the absence of any trained workmen, he acted as compositor and printer. Not only that, but the type used was cast by himself from materials prepared by his own hands and even the paper used was manufactured by him, as we have seen already. The first publication from his press was a reprint of *The Martyrology of the Virgin Marianeh*. The interesting title-page may be rendered into English, thus:—

"An account of the Holy Virgin Marianeh, reprinted from a copy originally printed at Constantinople in 1766 A.D., and now printed in India, at the capital city of Madras, from type prepared by the Rev. Arathoon, son of Shumavon of Shiraz, for the benefit of the Armenian youths, in the year of our Lord 1789."

The indefatigable printer adds an interesting notice or colophon at the end of the book, under date the 30th January, 1790, from which it appears that only 200 copies of the work were printed at the expense and through the exertions of the Rev. Arathoon Shumavon, "by the grace of God, a priest of Shiraz, in honour of his intimate friend, the noble Agah Marooth Joseph, of the family Phurnacheautz."

He printed and published some more books between the years 1790 and 1794, when, as we have seen, he started printing the monthly magazine, called *Azdarar*, in order to keep the press and the workmen fully occupied.

(2) For fuller information about the Armenians of Madras, during the 17th and 18th centuries, see *Armenians in India* by the present author, published recently.

The following is a translation of the Notice which the Rev. Arathoon Shumavon issued in August, 1794, announcing his intention of publishing a monthly magazine if sufficient support would be forthcoming however.

"To

The pious Armenian gentlemen and the chaste ladies of Madras.

Having considered the benefit that the press would derive and seeing the good progress of the studious amongst us, I deemed it necessary to place before your patriotism my present intentions, that is, to print a pamphlet at the end of every month, to be called the *Azdarar*, from which the readers will be able to know the principal events of the month, taken either from the different gazettes or from different books, with important subjects and pleasant news ; and at the end of the pamphlet there will be a calendar for the month following, containing the festivals of saints and the dates of the new and full moon, etc. Now, either for the worthiness of my project or for the benefit of the press and the encouragement of the hard-worked pressmen, I have fixed the price of the said pamphlet at one *Hoon* (3), therefore, if anybody wishes to get the aforesaid pamphlet, let him subscribe his name below this paper, with the number of copies required, either for himself, or for his friends, and if there be sufficient copies to meet the cost of the present undertaking, I shall then, with the help of God, proceed with every effort.

As you have always been the followers of the glory of the Armenian nation, I request you therefore, to help me in this work, for your happiness and consolation.

Yours most humble,
Rev. Arathoon Shumavon.

Madras, the 20th day of Qamar
[19th August] in the year of our
Lord 1794.

Subscribers to this paper—28 persons."

The first number of the *Azdarar* appeared in the month of Thirah, 1794, corresponding to the month of October and it continued till the month of Nirhan [March], 1796, so that it was published regularly for 18 months only.

There is a woodcut at the bottom of the above Notice representing the Coat of Arms of the old Armenian Kings of the four different dynasties that ruled in ancient Armenia for a period of fully 3500 years, commencing from 2111 B.C. and ending in 1393 A.D. A brilliant record indeed. Few, if any

(3) The *Hoon* was the native (Tamil) name for the silver coin then current in the Madras Presidency and was the equivalent of 3½ Sicca Rupees of the East India Company. It was called the "Pagoda" by the English traders by reason of its having the image of a Hindoo Pagoda (temple) of Southern India, on the obverse. These interesting coins, both in silver and gold are still to be found in the Madras Presidency.

nations can boast of such an antiquity, for the Armenians were a great nation before HISTORY began.

Through his profound knowledge of the Persian and Arabic languages, Rev. Arathoon Shumavon found great favour in the eyes of Walajah Muhammad Ali Khan, the Nawab of Arcot, from whom he received permission in 1795, to print and publish books in the Arabic and Persian languages as well. A copy of the Nawab's *firman*, granting him permission was duly lithographed in fine Persian and Arabic characters and published with a transliteration in Armenian, in the *Azdarar* for the month of Shbath (June, 1795; facing page 254.

There are only three complete copies of the *Azdarar* extant at the present day. The world famous library at Etchmiadzine, the Vatican of Armenia, possesses one. There is another copy in the library of the Armenian monastery of St. James at Jerusalem, and the third copy is in the private library of the present writer. There is also a copy, but an incomplete one, in the otherwise very rich library of the Mekhitharist Fathers at Vienna, who possess by far the best and the most complete collection of Armenian journals published in the world. It may be noted that since 1794 when Armenian journalism was born, 1586 journals have been published in different parts of the world. There is a collection of 1179 Armenian journals in the National Library of Armenia at Erivan.

Madras tried to revive the *Azdarar* in 1846, but without success, as it did not last even a year. Another attempt was made in 1848, to resuscitate Armenian journalism at Madras, but it shared the sad fate of its predecessors.

From 1794—1863, some 11 journals were published in the Armenian language, at Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, the first five being printed, whilst the remaining six were lithographed, but with the single exception of Mesroby Thaliadian's *Azgasare* (The Patriot), published at Calcutta from 1845—1852, all the others lacked literary merit and the reason is not far to seek, as all the other editors, with the exception of the Founder, Rev. Arathoon Shumavon, were men of business and had no literary attainments or any pretensions to scholarship; nevertheless they deserve great credit and praise, their shortcomings notwithstanding, for having kept the torch of Armenian journalism flickering for 70 years, under great difficulties. We must not, however, omit to mention the journal *Ara*, published monthly at Calcutta in English, devoted to Armenian politics, literature and history, which was ably edited by the late Mr. J. D. Melik-Beglar, from 1892—1895, and the *Armenian* of the late Mr. J. Barseghian, who likewise published his journal in English, at Calcutta, monthly, from 1908—1909, but with the death of the *Armenian*, which by an irony of Fate happened to be the 13th in the list of Armenian journals published in India, Armenian journalism, after a miserable existence of 115 years in this country, died a natural death with the consolation however that it had laid the foundation of the National Press which has, we are glad to say, achieved great success in Europe, America and the Homeland where Armenians are found in large numbers.

Before concluding, we may mention that the Founder of Armenian journalism was not acquainted with the English language and had not seen any journals or gazettes in that language. Yet to his credit be it said, he displayed considerable journalistic aptitude, as can be seen from his Answers to Correspondents, Reviews of Books, and criticisms and discussions of public and communal affairs.

He had placed a letter-box under the belfry of the Armenian church at Madras (where his press and the editorial offices were located) for correspondents and contributors to throw in their letters, articles or translations, intended for publication in the *Azdarar*. He opened the box every day and such of the contributions as were deemed worthy of publication, were sent to the press. To the contributor who had sent a description of the city of Qzlar, he replies that although the description had met with the approval of his collaborator (4), but as there were more important matters than description of cities to be published in the *Azdarar*, the article would be held over for some future date. And to another budding contributor, who had sent the first part of a translation, he replies that unless the entire translation was submitted, he could not say if he could publish the same. It is pleasant to note that the first Armenian editor, who had had no training whatsoever in the difficult art of journalism and had not seen the inside of an editorial office, was capable of conducting his journal, in such an efficient manner, like any trained and experienced journalist of the present day, thanks to his native genius and inborn love for literary work. It seems the austere life of a recluse and an ascetic which he led for seven years among the Persian *Qalandaran dervishes* (5) at Babakoh, in Shiraz, had sharpened his intellect and brought out all his latent powers, for have not monasteries, where monks have led pure monastic lives, produced some literary giants? There is a great deal of truth in the trite old adage that plain living is conducive to high thinking, that great Indian thinker, Mahatma Gandhi, being a striking example.

MESROB J. SETH.

(4) Seth Sam, an eminent Armenian merchant of Madras and a man of letters, was one of the collaborators of the *Azdarar*. He wrote verses in Armenian, under the *nom-de-plume* of "Bareykam", meaning a "Friend". Fools were his theme and satire was his song. The *Azdarar* had a notable correspondent in far off Russia, in the person of the famous Archbishop Hovsep (Joseph) of the princely house of Dolgorouky Argootheantz, the founder of the Armenian city of New Nakhe Jevan in Russia during the reign of Catherine II, in the last quarter of the 18th Century.

(5) In the portrait which we publish with this article, Rev. Arathoon Shumavon is seen holding the *AZDARAR* in his hand. He is wearing long hair, relic of the days he spent among the Persian *dervishes* at Babakoh as an anchorite and a recluse.

Monumental Inscriptions : Third Series.

PART VI.

(Nos. 1891—2000).

(i) THE KISHANGANJ CEMETERY AT DELHI.

I gave some particulars of my visit to this cemetery in *Bengal : Past & Present*, vol. LIII, pp. 41-4. These are summarised in the following letter which appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 6 Feb. 1937 :—

CHRISTIANS IN MOGUL DELHI

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—In the introduction to Sir Miles Irving's "List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in the Punjab, &c." (Lahore, Government Press, 1910), it is stated that the oldest Christian monument in the Punjab is a tombstone in the "Deremao" cemetery at Delhi—which place is historically included in the Punjab. The epitaph on this grave commemorates the death, on January 10, 1782, of one Masih, presumably an Indian convert to Christianity.

When the above list was compiled, the cemetery was greatly neglected, being used by villagers as a cattle-pen. A few years ago its care was undertaken by the Government. It has been put in excellent order and has a resident caretaker. On a recent visit I found two inscriptions of an earlier date than any previously recorded. They read :—

(1) *Aqui iaz Maria mulher de Monteyro anno D. 1781 P. Aum.*

(2) *Hic depositus fuit d. P. Rosare Die Novemb : 9 Ao. Dom : 1781*
..... *Requi* [one word wholly and the next partly illegible.]

The year date on each is particularly clear, and free from doubt.

In the Archaeological Museum in the Delhi Fort is a small marble slab bearing a cross and an Armenian inscription which may be thus translated : "With the aid of God, the house of the Urumian, Joseph Diphanos, in the year of Jesus 1781." The provenance and history of this stone are unknown to the Archaeological Survey of India ; but there are many similar Armenian epitaphs in the "Deremao" cemetery, from which it may well have been removed.

This threefold recurrence of the date 1781 may be significant. In 1781 the discalced Carmelite, Padre Gregorio della Presentazione, came from

Bombay to Northern India with a colleague to take over charge of the mission which had been conducted by Jesuits till the suppression of their society. He is known to have visited Delhi in that year. There had been an earlier Christian burial-ground at Delhi, for Armenians and the numerous Christian artificers, physicians and gunners in Mogul employ ; but this was destroyed at the time of Nadir Shah's incursion in 1739 ("The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul," by Sir Edward Maclagan, *passim* ; and "Calendar" of the Catholic Archdiocese of Agra, 1908, appendix). Thus the existing cemetery may have been established, or at least put in order, by Father Gregory in 1781.

Sir Miles Irving calls it the "Deremao" cemetery after the family of military adventurers of that name, whose tomb is its most prominent feature. I have given an account of the Deremaos in *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, Vol. I, p. 155 (1932). It is situated just west of Kishanganj, and north of the railway station, about a hundred yards from the Rohtak road. There are M. I. in English, French, Portuguese, Latin, Armenian and Persian ; and though some of those in the last two languages have been printed by Sir M. Irving it is possible that a recension of the whole might throw new light on the Christian community of Mogul Delhi.

H. BULLOCK, Major.

Since the above letter was published, Mr. Mesrobian Jacob Seth's monumental work on *Armenians in India* (Calcutta, 1937) has appeared, containing a section on Armenian monumental inscriptions in the "Deremao" cemetery, which he visited in October 1919. At that date the burial-ground had apparently come into the keeping of the Archaeological Department, but had not yet been restored and put in order. According to Mr. Seth, the translation of six Armenian epitaphs which appeared in Sir Irving's work are incorrect. He gives the following as accurate translations from the Armenian, which we reproduce together with Sir Miles Irving's versions, in parallel columns for ease of comparison :—

SETH

IRVING

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. This is the tomb of ZACHAR, the son of Lazar of Tiflis. Departed to God on the 31st December, 1787. [There is also an inscription in Persian, with the date 1202 A.H.]</p> | <p>22. This is the coffin of KARO, the son of GAZAR of Tiflis, who died date A.D. 1787. Dec. [No mention of Persian inscription].</p> |
| <p>2. This is the tomb of QARIB, the son of the late Lucas of Tiflis, who departed to God, on the 4th March, in the year of our Lord 1794, at Dilli [Delhi].</p> | <p>25. This is the coffin of the son of late VOKIGUJAS, the late Garipi, who died A.D. 1794 March 4th, Delhi.</p> |

IRVING

3. This is the tomb of MAQSOOD, the son of the late Mahtesy [pilgrim] Agameer of Van, who departed to God on the 5th January in the year of our Lord 1795.

4. This is the tomb of GREGORY, the son of the late Malcolm of Constantinople who departed to God on the 9th January, in the year 1248 of the Armenian era [1799] at Dilli [Delhi].

5. This is the tomb of Agah THADDEUS, the son of the late Eleazar and the grandson of the late Rev. Zachariah of the Shahnazar family of the capital city of Tabriz. Departed to God on the 22nd January in the year of our Lord, 1801 at Dilli [Delhi].

6. This is the tomb of Anthony, the son of Khatin of the family of Dinibeg of Tiflis, who departed to God on the 16th September 1801, in the city of Dilli [Delhi].

SETH

26. This is the coffin of MAGSOOD. —May his soul rest in peace—the son of Hajji (pilgrim) Agamir of Van, who died A.D. 1795 Jan. 5th.

27. Date A.D. 1799. This is the coffin of the late GREGORY, the son of the late Melcom of Constantinople, who died, date A.D. 1248, Jan. 9th, in Dehli.

30. This is the coffin of ISAAC of Aagakntarize (probably Alexandria), Shahnazar, the nephew of late Reverend Zakar, the son of late Yegiazar, the son of Agatatevos, taken to God. 1812, Jan. 1st, Dehli.

28. This is the coffin of ANTHONY, R.I.P., the son of Dinipegentz Kadin of Tiflis, who died in the city of Dehli, A.D. 1801, Sept. 16th.

I should add that, in December 1936, there were to the best of my recollection considerably more than 6 M.I. in Armenian to be seen in the cemetery; and if this is correct then some of these must have been uncovered in the process of restoration, since Mr. Seth's visit in 1919. I hope to be able to revisit the Kishanganj cemetery this winter, and shall try to count, and if possible take rubbings of, the Armenian M.I. I hope also to take with me a competent Persian scholar, and thus to procure accurate translations of the many epitaphs in that language. As a number are bilingual (Armenian / Persian or English / Persian) this would provide a cross-check and enable us to fill some of the *lacunae* in partially effaced inscriptions.

We note that Mr. Seth also mentions the marble tablet in the Delhi Fort Museum. It is not a tombstone, he says, but a memorial tablet commemorating the erection of an Armenian church or a chapel at Delhi in 1781. He adds that it came from the collection of the Delhi Municipality when the museum

“was inaugurated, but of its previous history nothing can be ascertained Mr. Seth translates the inscription thus:—

“By [the grace of] God, this house is [to the memory] of Phanus [Stephen] the son of Joseph of Urumiah. In the year of our Lord 1781.”

(ii) *THOMAS THACKERAY'S GRAVE AT NAHAN.*

On 25 May 1836 the notorious David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre was at Nahan, and wrote in his diary: “Got up, or rather down, to see the inscription on the large grave near the tank here, of the officer whom the natives call Colonel Tickery, but to my disappointment, saw no inscription, neither on this nor on the 4 smaller ones near it”.

Particulars of this grave are given by Sir Miles Irving in his list of Christian graves in the Punjab etc., and the present stone over one of the graves confirms Dyce Sombre's statement that there was no inscription in 1836. Two British columns suffered severe reverses in their assaults upon the Gurkha positions on the hill of Jaithak, near Nahan; and the British officers killed were Lieut. George McIntosh Munt 2/26th B.N.I., Lieut. Thomas Thackeray and Ensign Wm. McMurdo Wilson of the Light Battalion, and Ensign George Stalkart of the 1/13th B.N.I. The original tombstone was erected by the officers of the Light Battalion, and the present stone was put up by Munt's brother “after a lapse of twenty-five years, the original having been lost”. It will be noted that Dyce Sombre states that there were five graves in all: as no other officer was killed, the fifth tomb was presumably that of a European gunner.

Lieut. Thomas Thackeray was an uncle of the novelist, and entered the Bengal Army as a lad of fourteen, in 1803. There is an interesting passage about him in *The Thackerays in India*, by Sir William Hunter (London, 1897, pp. 137-9).

(iii) *MAHABLESHWAR*

The following list of *Monumental inscriptions Mahableshtar Cemetery* has kindly been compiled by Sir Patrick Cadell.

1891. Sacred / to the memory of / John Fraser HEDDLE / of the / Bombay Medical Service / Born in 1806 / and died on the 6th March 1842 / Erected over his remains in / testimony of regard and respect / by a few sorrowing friends / .
1892. In memory of / Major William MILLER / of the / Bombay Artillery / Judge Advocate General of the Army / who died on these hills on the 14th May 1836 / aged forty two years / leaving a widow and a daughter to mourn / their bereavement. Distinguished by integrity of purpose and honest / singleness of character, the deceased possessed / the affectionate esteem of numerous friends who / willing to perpetuate the memory of one in whom / were united many of the higher qualities of human / nature, have erected this monument to testify / to that union of talent and Christian piety / which so conspicuously adorned their /

- departed friend / in life / and that reliance on the merits of the Redeemer which proved the / sole foundation of his peace / in death / . Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord / .
1893. In loving memory of / James Hunter DIACK M.A., B.Sc., / of Kemnay, Aberdeenshire, Scotland / Professor of Physics / Wilson College Bombay / who died 16th May 1914 / aged 23 years. Erected by his parents and his friends of the language school in Mahableshwar.
1894. To the memory of / Major Robert MANSFIELD / 5th Regiment Madras Cavalry / and for 25 years attached / to the Poona Auxiliary House / who died on these hills / on 2nd May 1835 / in the 45th year of his age.
1895. Reverend Lorin Henry GATES / Missionary / son of a missionary / grandson of a missionary / February 21. 1885 April 8 1921 / Not to be ministered unto, but to minister.
1896. Charles Defoe / BAKER / Born at Truterden, Kent, England / March 17th 1880 / Died at Mahableshwar May 30th 1919 / .
1897. Beneath / this slab is deposited / the remains of / William Buckley HINDE / late Lieutenant in H.M. 4th Regiment / of Light Dragoons / . He was killed by a wild bull / on these hills on the 19th April 1834 / in the Twenty fourth / year of his age / . Greatly lamented by his / Brother Officers / who have erected / this tomb to his memory / .
1898. In loving memory / of / Major Thomas CANDY, C.S.I. / Bombay Army / born 13th December 1804, died 26th February 1877 / . After a service of 56 years / His children arise up and call him blessed / . Also of / Hannah Maria / his beloved wife / who died 24th Nov. 1834 / aged 24 years.
1899. In / loving memory / of / Percy James MEAD / C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. / who died at Mahableshwar / on April 7th 1923 / aged 51 years.
1900. In loving memory / of / Caroline Emily / wife of Sir G. S. CLARKE / Governor of Bombay / died 9th December 1908.
1901. Sacred to the memory of / Lieut. Lewis VARDON / 1st Regt. Lt. Cavalry (Lancers) / who departed this life / at Mahableshwar / on the 5th day of April 1842 / aged 25 years / This tomb is erected by his / brother officers as a last tribute / of respect and esteem / .
1902. To the memory / of / John William LANGFORD Esq. / late of the Hon'ble E.I.C. Service / who departed this life / on 2nd June 1847 aged 43 years / His generous disposition / and many amiable qualities / endeared him to an extended circle of / sorrowing relatives and friends / whose grief at his removal / receives its only consolation from the conviction / that unostentatious piety / and humble reliance on his God / have secured to him / eternal reward /-.
1903. In memory of / Isabella / Beloved and affectionate wife of / Captain Charles Henry DELAMAIN / 3rd Regt. Light Cavalry / Bombay Establishment / daughter of George Evans Esq. / of Ealing (word illegible) London. She expired on the 1st (?) day of March 1840 / aged 20 years / .

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1904. Sacred to the memory of / Charles Thorngate WESTON M.D. / of the / Honble E.I.C, Bombay Establishment / died 27th May 1852 in his 35th year / third son of Warwick Weston / merchant London / .
1905. Sacred to the memory of / William SMYTTON Esq. / who departed this life on the 29th of March 1852 / aged 34.
1906. Beneath this tomb / are deposited the mortal remains of / Lt. Col. Charles CRAWLEY / late of the Bombay Army / and Commander at Sholapur / . He died on his way to this place / on the 25th day of February 1851 / in the 51st year of his age / .
1907. Sacred / to the memory of / Corporal Henry DOYLE / an out-pensioner of Chelsea Hospital / residing at Malcolm Pait / who died on the 3rd of May / in the year of our Lord 1848, aged 60 years /- This tomb was erected by his / disconsolate widow.
1908. Carolus COOKE S. J. / Natus 12 Feb. 1823 / Mortuus 23 Maii 1892 / R.I.P.
1909. To the memory of / James HUSSEY, / Marshall of the House of Correction / at Bombay / who departed this life / on the 3rd of May 1856 / aged 50 years / A sorrowing widow and five young / children were bereft of an affection— / ate husband and an anxious / tender parent / .
1910. In loving memory of / Robert William Elliot CARNEY / Lieutenant Royal Artillery / third and only surviving son of / the late Patrick Carnegie, C.I.E. / born 20 Sept. 1860, died 25 April 1887 / Erected by his sorrowing mother.
1911. In memory of / Gertrude / wife of / Captain G. A. GOTT, H. E. the Governor's Bodyguard / died at Mahableshwar 5th March / 1894, aged 33 years.
1912. Sacred / to / the memory of / Emily Eliza / the beloved wife of / Major G. BURROW, died April 14th 1864.
1913. In memory of / Lisetta Henrietta Jeannie / wife of Captain W. A. BAKER, R.E. / died at Mahableshwar on 18th April 1870 / aged 39 years.
1914. In memory of / Alice Mary / wife of / Charles C. BLATHWAYTE, / Born August 21st 1850 / died May 20th 1879.
1915. To the Memory of / Annie Acheson AITCHISON / wife of / Brigadier General Aitchison C. B. / died 17th April 1877.
1916. In loving memory of / Caroline Olive LLOYD / daughter of / Col. R. O. Lloyd R. E. / who fell asleep on the 20th November 1900 aged 19 years.
1917. In loving memory of / Emma Anne Weldon / wife of Walter Langford Weldon Esq. / Born 4th April 1870 / died 25th May 1905.
1918. Reverend William Joshua FFENNELL M.A. / Chaplain of Satara and Mahableshwar. Born 16th January 1836 Died 11th April 1886.
1919. Lavinia / wife of William Henry LEQUESNE / Died 26th May 1897 / In Peace /-

1920. David / beloved son of / P. and C. MYATT / Drowned 7th March 1865 / aged 1 year 4 months 10 days / .
1921. Sacred / to the memory of / Lt. Col. John MOOR / Bombay Artillery / who departed (rest of inscription illegible).
1922. Sacred to the memory of / Elizabeth Mary Fitzmaurice / the beloved wife of Lieut. J. H. Bor, Royal Marine Artillery / and eldest daughter of Col. Falkland Warren, R.A. ? C.M.C / Born 29th November 1861 / died 19th May 1883 / .
1923. To the / Memory of / Ellen Murray / wife of / Capt J. MURRAY / born 22nd January 1846 / died 20th April 1874 / .
1924. Rhoda, dearly loved wife of J. W. P. MUIR MACKENZIE / Indian Civil Service / died 15th May 1900 / aged 35 / A clean heart, a right spirit, she loved much / .
1925. Sacred / to the memory of / Captain Thomas John / NEWBOLD / Twenty third Regiment / of Wallajabad Light Infantry / Madras Army / and Assistant Resident / at the / Nizam's Court Hyderabad / who suddenly passed away / in the midst of his studies / at Mahableshwar / on the 18th May 1850 / aged 40 years / Eminently distinguished in public / and private character. This monument is erected by his brother of / ficers as a mark of ttheir esteem and regard.
1926. John Hinde PELLY Esquire / Bombay Civil Service / died 19th April 1857 / aged 45 years / .
1927. Sacred / to the memory of / John(?)Graham / the wife of / Asst. Surgeon P. GRAY / Superintendent of Mahableshwar who died on / 14th April 1844 aged 35 years / .
1928. In loving memory / of / Catherine Torrance / DOUGLAS / of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission Jalna / who died on the 22nd April 1918 / Aged 65 years / in thy presence is fulness of joy / .
1929. Sacred / to the memory of / George / infant son of Lieutenant H. C. MORSE / 8th Regt. No. 1 / who died April 20th 1837 / aged 10 months / .
1930. In loving memory of / Gladys Clark WILDER / Missionary at Ahmednagar / born Feb. 15th 1903 at Auburn, N.Y., U.S.A. / died April 26th 1931 at Mahableshwar.
1931. Sacred to the memory of / Patrick / son of / Captain P. SANDERSON / 15th Regt. N. I / born 20th October 1835, died 16th March 1837 / .
1932. Mrs. Abigail M. / wife of / Rev. E. BURGESS / of the American Mission / at Satara / Born March 2nd 1813 / died / April 26th 1853 / .
1933. Mrs. Abbie L. / wife of / Rev. R. A. HUME / American Mission / and daughter of Mrs. Abigail Burgess / beside whom her body is laid / slept in Jesus / July 25th 1881 / aged 31.
1934. Rev. Carl J. NEAL / American Missionary / Born Aug. 1st 1890 / Died June 4, 1920 / .

1935. To the memory / of / Mary / for 27 years / the devoted / and beloved wife of / William MAINWARING / of this place / She died in perfect peace / on the 13th Oct. 1853 / in her 57th year / lamented by all who had / known her /.
1936. To the memory / of Mr. James John JAY / for—years a schoolmaster / in Bombay / who was an honour to his / profession / He died 25th January 1847 / regretted by all to whom / his amiable character / and genuine worth were known /.
1937. In memory of / Richard Edward WILSON / born at Londonderry 10th April 1818 / died at Mahableshwar / 19th May 1886.
1938. Sacred to the memory of / Gertrude Mary beloved child of Major C.T. Oswald FITZGERALD / of the 3rd Cav. H. C. and of Edith his wife / Born at Aurungabad 7th Oct. 1876 / and who fall asleep at Mahableshwar 27th Feb. 1878 /.
1939. In memory of / the Rev. Thomas ROSIE / Founder of the Coast Missions / of Scotland and first Agent of / Bombay Harbour Mission Union / who was born in South Ronaldshay / On the 11th June 1825 / and who died on these Hills / in the Joy of the Lord / on the 25th April 1860 /.
1940. Sacred / to the memory of / John Philip MELVILL / son of / Lt. Col. Melvill / Military Secretary to the Government of Bombay / who departed this life / on the 18th April 1842 / aged 2 years and 10 months /.
1941. In memory / of / Miss Louisa Reid / daughter of / John REID Esq. Thurso N.B. / of the Female School Establishment / of the Scottish Mission in Bombay / who died on these Hills / on the 26th Nov. 1840 / Rejoicing in the glory of the God / and Saviour in whose grace she trusted / and whom she sought to make known / to the daughters of India /.
1942. In memory of / Mrs. Mary GRAVES / Relict of Rev. A. Graves / died 33rd March 1866 / Aged 78 years /.
1943. In memory of / Rev. Allen GRAVES / American Missionary / arrived in Bombay 23rd February 1818 / died at Mahableshwar / 30th December 1843, aged 51 years /.
1944. In / loving memory / of / Wm. Alexr. Learmonth McKENZIE / Born at Falkirk / 7th July 1828 / Died at Mahableshwar / 7th May 1876 / erected by his affectionate widow /.
1945. In memory of / Mrs. Mary Elizabeth / wife of / Rev. Lemuel BISSELL, D.D. / American Missionary / April 21st 1906 aged 79 years /.
1946. In memory of Rev. Lamuel BISSELL D.D. American Missionary / May 28th 1891 /.
1947. Sacred /to the memory of / Fanny Stevenson / the beloved wife / of the / Rev. Richard GALBRAITH / who died / 23rd May 1861 / aged 24 years /.

1948. Sacred / to the memory of / Claude Ferrier / the beloved infant son of / Sir Alexander and Lady GRANT / who died at Mahableswar / on the 24th May 1866 / aged 5 months /.
1949. In memory of / the / Rev. J. W. BARDSLEY of the C.M. Society / at Kurrachee / who died...186...[illegible] / aged 29 years /.
1950. In memory of / C. Edward PALMER / born March 26, 1851 / died at Mahableswar Oct. 24th 1903 / aged 52 years /.
1951. In ever loving memory / of / Henry Charles CRISP / who departed this life / on 22nd December 1911, aged 58 years /.

(iv) MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

KAKUL, near ABBOTTABAD.

In the spring of 1902 a thousand or more prisoners of war were sent from South Africa to Kakul, where they remained till the close of the year. The first two M.I. below are those of their guards. I am indebted to Major J. D. Shapland, M.C., R.A., for this list.

1952. Sgt. A. J. PARRINGTON, 2nd Bn. K.R.R.C., d. 28 May 1902.
1953. Cpl. H. J. TAYLOR, 2nd Bn. K.R.R.C., d. 9 Aug. 1902.
1954. G. J. M. SCHEEPERS, Middleburg, d. 25 July 1902.
1955. A. J. SMIT, Heidelberg, d. 21 May 1902.
1956. J. J. SNIJMAN, Herbert, d. 27 July 1902.
1957. J. P. H. STEYN, Heilbron, d. 25 May 1902.
1958. J. B. SWARTZ, Heilbron, d. 11 June 1902.
1959. J. T. TRATER, Standerton, d. 6 Oct. 1902.
1960. D. J. DE VILLIERS, Vrede, d. 15 June 1902.
1961. M. J. J. VAN VUREN, Wolmaranstad, d. 18 June 1902.
1962. M. B. BASCH, d. 30 June 1902.
1963. H. J. DUVENAGE, Bloemfontein, d. 7 May 1902.
1964. C. C. ERASMUS, Heilbron, d. 20 July 1902.
1965. M. P. FOWRIE, Bethlehem, d. 10 Aug. 1902.
1966. C. J. DE JAGER, Vrede, d. 22 Apr. 1902.
1967. C. D. JOUBERT, Winberg, d. 15 July 1902.
1968. J. G. H. KLEINHAUS, Heilbron, d. 18 Sept. 1902.
1969. W. P. LOUW, Wolmaranstad, d. 28 April 1902.
1970. D. C. J. VAN NOORDWIJK, Bethel, d. 17 Aug. 1902.
1971. P. J. J. DU PREEZ, Wolmaranstad, d. 26 April 1902.
1972. J. J. PRETORIUS, Bethel, d. 7 Aug. 1902.
1973. P. E. PRINSLOO, Harrismith, 29 June 1902.
1974. A. J. RAUTENBACH, Kroonstad, d. 7 Sept. 1902.
1975. H. J. J. VAN RANSBURG, Bethlehem, d. 21 July 1902.
1976. P. L. J. VAN RENSBURG, Kroonstad, d. 19 May 1902.

MALAKAND, N. W. F. P.

The M. I. on four officers' graves in the cemetery at the Malakand Pass have been printed by Sir Miles Irving. I visited the cemetery on 7 March 1937, and transcribed the following additional M. I.

1977. [Hony. Lieut.] Leonard Richard MANLEY, Bengal Commissariat Department, born 7 April 1855, killed in action 25 July 1897, whilst bravely discharging his duty. [The circumstances of Lt. Manley's death are narrated in the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill's *Story of the Malakand Field Force*].
1978. Capt. George Patrick CAMPBELL, 25th Punjab Infy., son of Colonel J. M. Campbell, R.A., d. 20 July 1900, aged 34.
1979. Lieut. H. T. REED, 25th Punjab Infy., son of H. M. Reed Esq., d. 29 July 1900.
1980. Lieut. Philip Truman STAINFORTH, 10th Bengal Lancers, d. of enteric, 5 Aug. 1901, aged 25.
1981. George Berkeley BUTT, I.M.S., son of George Butt, I.C.S. (who d. at Allahabad, 26 Jan. 1879), d. 28 Aug. 1902, aged 24.
1982. Claude Whateley JOHNSON, Executive Engineer P.W.D., born at Bolton, England, 25 March 1870, d. of malaria 16 Nov. 1916.
1983. Capt. John Jervis HEWETSON, 8th Gurkha Rifles, born 22 Sept. 1897, d. 2 April 1921.

This cemetery also contains a number of graves of soldiers killed or died on the Frontier between 1895 and 1932, many having belonged to the Buffs.

A mile and a half away, below the Main Fort, are three graves which are probably the oldest at the Malakand :—

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1984. Rifleman W. CARTER | } all of the K.R.R.C., and killed on
3 April 1895. |
| 1985. Rifleman A. E. GILLARD | |
| 1986. Rifleman F. WALKER | |

HARIPUR, HAZARA DISTRICT, N. W. F. P.

(a) *In a garden to E. of main road.*

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1987. Serjt. Joseph ALDERTON | } all of H.M. 6th Regt., d. on the
march from Rawalpindi to Abbottabad,
16 Aug. 1868. |
| 1988. Serjt. William MELLUISH | |
| 1989. Pte. Artimas GIBSON | |
| 1990. Pte. Martin MURRAY | |

(b) *In Hari Singh's garden.*

1991. Emily, wife of D. W. RENTON Esqre., 1st Regt. Seikh Light Infy., d. 3 Dec. 1852 at Baharoo Kote, Huzara.
1992. Caroline Sarah, wife of Capt. F. E. VOYLE, Asst. Commissioner, d. at Hazara 14 Oct. 1852.
1993. Henry W. P. HUTTON, Inspector of Schools, Frontier Circle, d. 31 March 1867, aged 29.
1994. Major Ernest Riddle EVANS, Welch Fusiliers, d. at Palosi, 5 April 1891, while serving with the Black Mountain expedition, aged 39.

SOHAN, RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

1995. Thyrsa, wife of Quartermaster Serjt. J. T. McKNIGHT, King's Dragoon Guards, d. at Sohan, 15 Sept. 188, aged 36.

DINA CAMPING-GROUND, JHELM DISTRICT.

1996. This stone records the re-internment in this cemetery of the remains of a European soldier formerly buried at the edge of the high road where it passes ing-ground by Major J. W. BRISTOW, the Deputy Commissioner of the District, on the 12th day of April, 1863. All that could be learned regarding the identity of the deceased was that he was . . . (*remainder illegible and broken away*).
1997. John, infant son of John and Annie ELLIS. d. 31 December 1878.
1998. George Frank, son of George and Eliza BERRILL, aged 7 years and 10 months (*no date*).

GUIDES CEMETERY, MARDAN, N. W. F. P.

1999. Major Henry F. V. GAITSKELL, Queen's Own Corps of Guides, son of the late Lieut.-Col. Gaitskell of the Bengal Army, d. 14 Dec. 1890, aged 40.
2000. Lieut. Wm. Torrens VINCENT, Bombay Staff Corps, Commissariat Dept., son of the late Lt.-Col. H. T. Vincent, Bombay Staff Corps, born 9 Oct. 1865, d. 11 June 1895.

Errata : the last part (V) should have been headed "Monumental Inscriptions, Third Series", and the last M. I. should have been numbered '1890'.

This closes the third series of the lists of Monumental Inscriptions, numbering 2,000 epitaphs in all, which I have for some years past been publishing in *Bengal : Past & Present*.

H. BULLOCK, Major.

Scraps of Fort William Regimental History

(Continued)

SAMUEL PLUMMER and John Shipp were, like all other visitors who wrote about Calcutta, much impressed by the "Adjutants" "a species of bird so called from its comical resemblance to a human figure in a stiff dress pacing slowly on a parade ground." "Around the half-burned and expiring embers of the burning ghauts it stalks with gaunt and bony limbs, the protected scavenger of the City of Palaces, its huge bill begrimed with exploring the ashes of the unconsumed dead ; or you would see him perched on some adjacent pinnacle, standing ghost-like, immovable, and unearthly in appearance, watching the successive approach towards Death's portal of the remains of man."

Baber (circa 1530) says, "One of these (fowls) is the *ding*, which is a large bird. Each of its wings is the length of a man ; on its head and neck there is no hair. Something like a bag hangs from its neck ; its back is black, its breast white ; it frequently visits Kabul. One year they caught and brought me a *ding*, which became very tame. The flesh which they throw it, it never failed to catch in its beak, and swallowed without ceremony. On one occasion it swallowed a shoe well shod with iron ; on another occasion it swallowed a good-sized fowl right down with its wings and feathers."

Ives, writing in 1754 says he mistook them for Indians naked. "The wings extended 14 feet 10 inches. From the tip of the bill to the extremity of the claw it measured 7 feet 6 inches. . . . In the craw was a land tortoise 10 inches long ; and a large black male cat was found entire in its stomach."

Major H. Bevan who wrote "Thirty Years in India" came as a cadet to Calcutta in 1808. Adjutants impressed him, being "so stately and grave, that are seen reposing quietly on the flat roof and surrounding balustrades of Government House appear like so many fixed ornamental figures. They are so tame that they allow the persons kept to clean away their ordure to shove them off with their brooms before they will quit. The European soldiers in Fort William amuse themselves by tying a piece of meat to a long string, which the adjutant readily swallows ; but on the string being pulled, it is quickly disgorged with the very worst sort of filthiness and garbage, as they are scavengers of the whole city and its environs ; . . . they are not allowed to be killed, and a heavy fine is exacted by order of government, from any person who molests them," which looks as if the amusements of British soldiers, in Fort William at any rate, were not what might be accurately termed 'refined.'

Fifty years ago there was always an adjutant on the top of the Ochterlony Monument, and another had a permanent residence on the lion on top of the South-East gate of Government House. They also paraded the Maidan skirting the Fort moat. One nearly killed a fox terrier I owned, who ran up barking at it. I am quite sure he could have swallowed the dog.

Hindus were said to believe that "the bodies of adjutants are possessed by the souls of Brahmins ; shooting them, therefore, they consider an act of unpardonable wickedness. Many believe that the adjutant bears a charmed life being impregnable to the influence of powder and shot. In deference, to these prejudices, they are seldom molested by Europeans." Further deference to these "prejudices" was a fine of fifty rupees for those who killed one ; if the sportsman was a soldier he got something more as *bacsheesh*. It must be sadly admitted that a substantial fine is far more useful in checking sinners than all the warnings spoken from the pulpit.

Williamson, writing in 1810 said, "Every bird saving the adjutant (or *argeela*) retires to some shady spot."

Looking so grave and dignified as they do, they naturally invited ridicule. There used to be a story about one whose home was on top of the Ochterlony Monument that was given a cake of Pear's soap and retired to its sunny roost to blow out soap bubbles for the rest of the day.

How primitive conditions were a century ago can be gleaned from Dr. Buchanan's "Christian Researches."

"I have beheld the dead bodies of natives, not yet cold, who had expired under the trees in the vicinity of Calcutta, mangled and torn by adjutants, while crowds of Hindus were passing to bathe in the Ganges; and when the corpses were pointed out to their countrymen, the cold answer was— "Hum jaunta ne, sahib,"—"I know him not.")

John Shipp mentions a sergeant being called to account for a large beef bone being found in the yard of the military prison. "The sergeant was a shrewd fellow, and he immediately said,— "Oh Sir, the pelicans have dropped it." This was very plausible, for these birds will carry enormous bones; and frequently when fighting for them they drop them, so that this might very probably have been the case. The moment the trumpet sounds, whole flocks of these birds are in attendance at the barrack doors, waiting for bones, or anything that the soldiers may be pleased to throw to them."

And now, so far as Calcutta is concerned, the adjutant is as rare as courtesy among motorists, the belief in red flannel chest-protectors as a cure for tuberculosis, or advertisements urging patriots to "Buy British Socks. Guaranteed to shrink an Inch every time they are Washed."

On September 23. 1803 a British force numbering about 4,500 of all arms under the Honourable Major-General Wellesley defeated the Mahrattas who, had 30,000 cavalry, 10,500 infantry, and more than 100 guns—(infantry and artillery both well trained by French officers,) at the Battle of Assaye. It was (really) a famous victory—one of the most decisive battles of British Indian history.

The British losses were 22 officers and 286 rank and file killed; 57 officers and 1,526 other ranks wounded—roughly, one third of the whole force.

The anniversary of the battle was celebrated in Calcutta the following year, when the band of the 22nd Regiment was prominent on what was probably its last public appearance before leaving the city on the Hooghly.

SEPTEMBER 27th, 1804.

"The commemoration of the glories and memorable battle of Assaye, was celebrated on Sunday, the 23rd September, 1804, at the Government House, where a grand dinner was given to the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, the Members of Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court, Major General Wellesley, the Envoy from Bagdad, and to all the principal Civil and Military Officers and British inhabitants of Calcutta. The toasts of "Major General Wellesley; the Army of the Deccan, and the memory of the Battle of Assaye; with our illustrious Commander-in-Chief, and the Army in Hindustan," were drank with enthusiasm.

"The bands of the Governor General and of His Majesty's 22nd Regiment played martial airs during the entertainment; and at sunset, a royal salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William, in honour of the battle of Assaye."

"The Governor General and Major General Wellesley attended divine service in the morning of the 23rd at the Old Church, when a sermon suitable to the occasion was preached by the Reverend Mr. Brown. (Selections from Calcutta Gazettes by W. S. Seton-Karr. C. S. pp. 433.) 1868.

The 22nd Foot, after the little matter of their coffin-money had been amicably settled by something like the Caesarian process, left Fort William for the "Upper Provinces" on December 19, 1804 being relieved by the 17th Foot.

The 17th (Leicestershire) Regiment was in Ireland in 1804; proceeded to England and embarked from the Isle of Wight in April arriving at Calcutta on December 22nd 1804.

In June and July 1805 the health of the officers and soldiers suffered severely from the effects of the climate. All the officers except 4 and upwards of 400 men were, at one period, in hospital, but comparatively few died. Casualties were replaced by a strong detachment from England and by volunteers from homeward bound regiments the effective strength being augmented to 1260 officers and soldiers.

On September 12 1805 the 17th embarked in boats for the "Upper Provinces", and after serving in Allahabad, reached Cawnpore about November 10, 1806.

The regiment left Ghazeepore in December 1818 and proceeded to Fort William, where it arrived on January 24 1819. For the whole of that year

and up to December 21, 1920 the 17th remained in Fort William when it marched to Berhampore. During the two years it was at Calcutta 8 officers and 131 soldiers were lost, the "cholera being prevalent during that period."

In August 1822 it proceeded by water to Calcutta; and was inspected at Fort William on November 9 of that year by Major General Dalzell.

On January 20, 1823 the balance of the regiment left Fort William for Gravesend arriving there on May 27 after 19 years' absence from Europe, bringing back 4 officers, and 60 N. C. O's and men of those who embarked with it in 1804.

The casualties from 1804 to 1822 were:—

Lost by disease, and killed in action	...	1,021
Invalided	...	412
Transferred or volunteered to other corps	...	452
Discharged on expiration of service	...	166
Deserted	...	24

"The English Cantonment at Barrackpore was formed in the year 1775, and the first bungalow was built there in the month of February, about 150 yards from where the flag-staff now stands." (Bengal Obituary), Holmes & Co., 1848.

The garrison consisted of 5000 sepoys with small bodies of British troops. That large force in so restricted an area probably accounts for the fact that many of the compounds to-day have a foot of earth above pukka or brick floors. The over-crowding must have been incredible.

Although some of the troops in Fort William changed stations once a month with those in Barrackpore it was thirty years before a pucca road was made. A Police notice dated July 23rd 1805 reads to this effect:—

"Notice is hereby given that the new road to Barrackpore will be opened for the accommodation of the public on Monday next, the 19th instant.

"All persons are desired to be careful not to injure the young trees planted on the sides of the road.

"Travellers, whether on horseback, foot, or in carriages, are required to keep on the central or brick part of the road, and not to pass through the side avenues.

"All elephants, bullocks, and hackeries, are strictly prohibited from passing on the sides of the roads." (Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes by W. S. Seton-Karr. C. S. pp. 169.) 1868.

With 5000 troops it is safe to estimate the number of servants at about the same number so the Cantonment must have been a small town of very small houses. In a letter written on August 29 1819 an officer gave some idea of his surroundings.

"When I sit in my little bungalow, the front door of which (for window it has none) commands no very distant view of the Parade and the awkward squad, and the other a near view of my neighbour's cookrooms, from which

the smoke that daily ascends suggests to my imagination dreams which, alas ! I am never permitted to realise. I review the past and am surrounded by sapling Cadets, and green Ensigns among the more mature Lieutenants. I see the rugged and weather-beaten Captains and beyond them the hoary brows of the Majors and Colonels; and to crown all the frozen peaks of General Officers."

The standard of comfort for junior officers must have been low, judged by modern standards, for a man to live in a hut without windows.

The 1st Battalion, 53rd (Shropshire) Regiment left Portsmouth for India on April 20, 1805. Mrs. Sherwood, who was married to her cousin Henry, a captain in the regiment tells her story of the voyage. Owing to the haste in which they had to leave, no preparations could be made for the journey. "Every cabin on board the *Devonshire*, their vessel, was taken, and it was only by giving a handsome bribe to the ship's carpenter that they could induce him to let them have his, in which there was a great gun, with its mouth facing the porthole. Their hammocks were slung above this gun, and were so near the top of the cabin that they could scarcely sit up in bed. When the pumps were at work the bilge water ran through this miserable place, and to finish its discomfort, it was only separated by a canvas screen from the part where the soldiers sat, and probably dressed and slept also, so that it was absolutely necessary for its present occupant to retire to it in all weathers before any of the men were turned down for the night."

"According to some rule which she could not understand the carpenter dared not let them have the use of his cabin until the pilot had left the ship." This compelled her to sit on deck in the rain.

"Unhappy as she was, she was still conscious that there were others more wretched than herself. Each company was only allowed to take out ten women, but when they came to be numbered on board the *Devonshire*, there was found to be one too many, and lots were drawn on deck to determine who was to be sent home. Mrs. Sherwood saw the agony of the poor woman who was to be carried back to the shore; she saw her wring her hands, and heard her cries as she left, and felt that whatever her hardships might be, her trials were nothing to be compared to this poor creature's."

In the "Narrative of the Life and Travels of Serjeant B. . . . Written by Himself," published in 1824, he appears to have enlisted in the "26th, or Scots Cameronians," in 1804, with the object of learning the fife, taking up later the violin and clarinet. He transferred later to the "2nd battalion of the Scots Royals" as "serjeant and fife-major" on condition that he didn't have to do the floggings.

When leaving for India in 1807 he had a harrowing experience in watching the grief of soldiers and their wives when they found themselves separated for perhaps twenty years through the Army regulation that per-

mitted but 6% of women to accompany their husbands abroad. "There were between 200 and 300 hundred women." 60 were to be allowed to go. Lots were drawn at 11 p.m. the day before embarkation. As they lived in the barrack-room with their husband and children, the parting must have been a dreadful ordeal.

The Rev. G. S. Gleig, a one-time subaltern of the 85th Foot (now the 2nd Battalion, King's Shropshire Light Infantry) who served in the Peninsular War, also in America, and was afterwards for 31 years Chaplain-General of the Forces, gives pathetic details of the departure of his regiment when a hundred or more women, with their children, were left behind to starve, or worse.

His book, "The Subaltern" is not to hand just now or the story would be retold.

Mrs. Mary Martha Sherwood wrote many books—about 71. One often ironically quoted is something of a classic—"Little Henry and His Bearer," put down in pious grief after the death of her child Henry who died at Berhampore on July 22nd 1807. The story of her experiences on the voyage to and during her stay in India shows that it was not only the private soldiers who endured great hardships. Officers and their wives had by no means a comfortable time.

"On the 6th August, when they had been at sea more than three months, soon after dinner, an alarm was given that three strange ships were approaching, coming as if from the direction of India." These were found to be French. The decks were cleared for action. "Every cabin was thrown down, everything they possessed was thrown in heaps in the hold or trampled underfoot; all the women were placed in the hold."

Luckily, after a few shots had damaged their rigging the French "showed a disposition to withdraw." Two days later the ladies were lifted out of the hold "as if they were so many bales of goods." On board one of the other ships a sergeant of the 53rd had both his legs shot off."

Landing at Madras on August 23, 1805, after spending ten days on shore they again embarked in the *Devonshire* and proceeding up the Bay, anchored in "Diamond Bay" on the 11th September. Captain Sherwood hired a boat to take them up the river and on arriving at Calcutta they were conducted to an inn—*The Crown and Anchor*—whose comparative quiet was most grateful to them.

The following day Captain Sherwood got "two immense apartments in Fort William" and a native broker provided them with all the furniture they required, so that they were comfortably provided for with a staff of servants numbering fifteen whose wages cost about £10 17s. 3d. a month.

"Their stay in Calcutta only lasted four weeks, for they were ordered upcountry to Dinapore for which place they started on a Saturday. Little Maria Parker was dying, and her father obtained permission to remain behind for two days, but the child died on the second morning, and was buried within an hour."

From all that it can be seen that officers' wives learned a good deal about the splendid misery of life in a red coat.

The Sherwoods were deeply religious people and discovered to their infinite regret that there was no church in Dinapore. In those good old tolerant days it used to be said that Christian Britons coming to India left their Bibles and their morals at the Cape of Good Hope and picked them up again on the way back twenty years later—that is if they were lucky enough to be alive, and felt themselves to be in need of them. The non-existence of the Ten Commandments anywhere East of Suez though not proverbial, seems to have been generally recognised.

In some regiments the Sabbath was observed by officers commanding companies reading the "Articles of War" to their men. By the performance of this duty and hoisting the Union Jack on the flagstaff, they considered they had sufficiently honoured their Maker.

It is on record that when the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, halted one Sunday at a civil station upcountry, he requested the judge to read the Church Service—but he was informed there would be some difficulty as there was no Bible in the station.

Perhaps the Church was more to blame for this than anybody. Their fees for marriages and baptism were extortionate and they took full advantage of the respect they claimed and toleration for their defects. It has long been a clerical custom to inculcate the belief that it is more than half wicked to criticise any clerical short-comings. Bishop Wilson, early last century, declared publicly that half his time was spent in settling quarrels among them which only shows that the more human nature changes, the more it remains the same. A cheerless soul put that in his own way—

"Of all the changes I have seen
Seem changes for the worse."

That but little is heard today of such difficulties as those complained of by Bishop Wilson is due to the success of the Church in concealing scandal and shielding delinquents. A bad wound heals but a bad name kills. But there are enterprises other than the Church that understand how bad sunlight is for sore eyes. As years rolled by bringing a greater regard to convention, military chaplains took more interest in their charges. They and the doctors were too often stricter martinets than the regimental sergeant major. This characteristic must have led a soldier's son to write in an essay—"The Minister of War is the clergyman who preaches to the soldiers in barracks."

Further descriptions of a soldier's life are to be found in the "Life of Mrs. Sherwood" by Isabella Gilchrist.

The 53rd left Dinapore for Berhampore on July 6, in boats. A bad storm scattered the "fleet" which the Sherwoods in their "sixteen-oared budgerow" escaped by putting into Digba. "When they at last reached Berhampore, having made a voyage of 380 miles, including windings, in

eight days, they considered that they had endured more perils in that time than in the whole of their voyage from England."

(There were other inconveniences. A young soldier, proceeding up the Ganges to join his regiment, in a letter to his parents told them that while he and another cadet were at breakfast, their voyage was interrupted by the body of an elephant, long deceased, getting across the bows of their boat. By the time the visitor floated away the youngsters needed a bath and no breakfast.)

"Immediately on their arrival at Berhampore they, (the Sherwoods) received letters from Home, which cost them upwards of two guineas for postage, having been sent to Madras and following them hence."

The next few lines speak for themselves, accounting, more than probably, for the disinclination of soldiers to return to England with their regiment.

"In Mrs. Sherwood's time an unfortunate system prevailed largely among the men in barracks, who were each allowed to take a woman as a temporary wife whilst they were in India."

The British soldier, whose liking for strong drink in no way diminishes his interest in the fair or unfair sex, approaches the description given in an essay on Henry VIII, that was obviously not written in a Roman Catholic school—"If he had a fault at all it was a slight tendency towards adultery."

A similar practice prevails in the Dutch Colonial Army today. Soldiers "marry" Javanese native women, who are well pleased to be offered such a prospect of doing well for themselves. The ceremony costs three guilders roughly five shillings. A divorce costs the equivalent of a shilling. The women live in barracks but are not officially recognised. At barrack inspection they move out under the trees. A boy described a gentleman as one who knows when not to see things and the Dutch officers are gentlemen. One, who had obtained permission for me to go over the barracks in Bandoeng, and accompanied me during my visit said, in reply to questions—"A woman keeps a soldier contented." Well, there's something in that as the girl said when she pulled on her stocking.

If the old time soldiers had taken one tenth of the trouble to avoid filthy surroundings as they did to avoid the sun there would not have been half the number of deaths. The fact is that the British knew very little about hygiene until long past the Indian Mutiny. Their fear of the sun was deep-rooted.

Lieutenant John Pester, who wrote "War and Sport in India 1802-06" (An Officer's Diary) has this to say about the 53rd:—

November 23rd 1805,
Boglepore on the Ganges.

"We went on shore this morning, and walked a short distance. A considerable fleet came in sight about noon today and found it to be H. M.

53rd Regiment on their way to Dinapore. We learnt that the regiment was very unhealthy, at that time having nearly 300 men in hospital. Many of the officers, being just from England, were walking on the shore in the heat of the day, by which we concluded that they must have been unacquainted with the nature of the climate." (pp. 439).

Until near the end of last century European soldiers spent 18 hours a day in bed; the sun was feared; men were not allowed out of barracks unless on active service, when their health invariably improved. Orderlies who were compelled to do some work out of doors carried umbrellas (of which more later.) Even as late as 1865 when the 55th Foot were employed, in an expedition to Bhutan, Army headquarters complained that due care had not been exercised to keep the men out of the sun.

A doctor who apparently possessed brains expressed this opinion—"It seems to me open to question as to whether the artificial life soldiers are compelled to follow in India, does not, by lowering their vital power, render them more pre-disposed to suffer from the sun when casually, or from necessity, exposed to it, than if they were more habituated to it than they now are, which I think they might be without risk to their health; especially so as their heads could be suitably protected."

The fact is that football has "made" the British army in India. Instead of loafing in the barrack room the soldier can be seen almost any hour of the day kicking a football. And judging by the skill, pluck and fortitude shewn by the Bengali it looks as if football has also made him.

The reference to the Bhutan expedition of 1865 brings to mind something of interest to the Anglo-Indians who claim the right to serve in the army. Surgeon Rennie, M.D. (20th Hussars) who wrote "Bhutan and the Story of the Dooar War" tells this story:—

"The main column unfortunately lost its way, and the extreme difficulty of the position in which the men were placed produced a sort of panic, which caused the retreat to become one of extreme disorder, in the course of which some of the wounded were left behind in the confusion, and the guns were abandoned. With reference to the latter occurrence, it is but fair to state that when the men of the 43rd refused to carry the guns any longer, the Eurasian gunners, about twenty in number accompanying them, made an attempt to bring them on, but were unequal to doing so, and under the direction of their officer (Captain Cockburn, R.A.) threw them down a Khud, as the ravines in the Himalayas are called, to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands." (pp. 199-200.)

These gunners belonged to a six-gun "Eurasian Battery" who obviously shewed themselves to be good soldiers. Historians of their community appear to have unfortunately lost sight of this incident or they would certainly have referred to it in their efforts to restore to their people the privilege of serving in the Army. To argue that they would not make soldiers is to go against history while their skill and pluck in hockey, football,

and in the boxing ring today show them to be capable of doing what most British soldiers do.

"Joh" Company's military forces were often said to be a "Eurasian Army." The men married Eurasian or Indian women; their sons, if there were no vacancies in their fathers' regiments, joined native regiments as drummers or fifers. Being allowed to leave almost when they liked, they transferred when old enough to one of the European battalions and did all that was expected of them. The old Madras Europeans, who became the Royal Dublin Fusiliers in 1881, had nearly 450 battle honours—wars, campaigns, expeditions, sieges, battles and stormings both in India, Java, Mauritius and Afghanistan.

In the good old days there was no early morning tea. Soldiers had a dram of rum before going on parade to "steady" them. Their allowances were three drams of spirits daily, as that was considered necessary to keep them up to the mark. While drink was not supposed to be brought into the barrack rooms, old soldiers used to boast that arrack came in bhisti bags—64 glasses could be obtained for a rupee. The general term for arrack was "Billy Stink" owing to its odour; more refined toppers called it "Sweet William," and held their nose while drinking it. To give it a "bite" a few chillies were soaked in it but the deplorable result was that numbers of men became habitual drunkards. Considering the dulness of their lives it is not to be wondered at. Civilians could buy brandy from the Chinaman, Tom Fatt, whose distillery at Ghusari turned out brandy at twelve annas a gallon—the best quality at a rupee.

The 67th Foot, (South Hampshire Regiment) embarked for Bengal in 1805 and arrived at Fort William on September 15 of that year, 64 sergeants, 22 drummers, and 1200 rank and file strong.

In December, 1907 the regiment left Fort William for Dinapore.

On March 2nd, 1826 the 67th arrived at Calcutta from Bombay sailing for Rangoon on March 13 but returned a few days later to Fort William where Major S. B. Taylor, Captain W. Webster, and Lieutenant Hassall died. The ships Zenobia, Caroline, and Catherine Stewart Forbes sailed on the 9th June, 1826, for England, the headquarters and second division arriving at Gravesend on November 28 following after an absence of twenty one years. The remainder of the regiment did not arrive there until April 16, 1827.

The 14th (Bedfordshire) Regiment, now the Prince of Wales's Own, (West Yorkshire Regiment,) was stationed in Fort William from February 1808, until the autumn of 1810, when it proceeded to take part in the Expedition to the Isle of France.

The regiment landed in Madras in November, 1807, having "embarked a strength of forty nine officers, sixty four sergeants, twenty two corporals, fifty nine drummers, and one thousand and fifty five privates, all "Life-service" soldiers.

A short time in the field against the Danes in Tranquebar which place was surrendered to the British, and the 14th proceeded to Bengal, where under command of Lieutenant Colonel James Watson it was stationed during the next eighteen months.

("Historical Records of the 14th Regiment, now the Prince of Wales's Own (West Yorkshire Regiment)" edited by Captain H. O'Donnell")

It is of a further interest to know that these "soldiers for life" averaged in age thirty two years when they landed.

The 14th, under command of Lieut. Colonel James Watson took part in the expedition to Java in 1811, sailing from the "Madras roads" on April 18, and assembled at Malacca before crossing to a spot ten miles eastward of Batavia. The total number of troops engaged was about 12,000 of whom 2500 were on the sick list before hostilities started. A gallant attack on a fortified position was successful, when a Dutch officer, one of those redoubtable fighters who don't mind dying themselves, blew up a magazine. Unfortunately the two grenadier companies of the 14th were on the ramparts and the explosion destroyed them, with about 1000 Dutch troops.

Fort William has never been considered a "cavalry" station although from scraps of information it is evident that they did garrison duty there occasionally. The 17th Light Dragoons, afterwards the famous 17th Lancers disembarked at Calcutta on August 25, 1809, 790 strong. While in India they were mounted on Kathiawar horses, and as can be imagined, that large number must have added to the pest of flies during the time they were in the Fort. In December, 1810, the 17th were transferred to the Bombay establishment when they went through some hard fighting before leaving for Home in 1824.

In 1809, it was decided to do something to stop the French preying on our commerce in the Indian Ocean. The Marquis Wellesley proposed to capture the islands of Mauritius, and Bourbon but the Home Government interfered, and stopped action. The loss of several East Indiamen and their valuable cargoes, with troops proceeding to India, and prominent officials taken prisoners, led to a decision that something had to be done.

With true British slapdash, the usual form of scoundrelism and murder politicians dignify and snigger about as "muddling through" was adhered to. The military boy was sent to do three men's jobs. "Concerted with levity, and conducted with recklessness" the scheme failed and our soldiers and sailors were taken prisoner.

The game of sacrificing men and money through the habit of starting to get ready two years after the declaration of war has been played so often that it is amazing how those responsible have escaped the gallows.

The cult of inefficiency seems to be practiced with the object of creating anxiety—better still, if that grows into panic. Politicians, better than anybody know that there is always plenty of fruit to be picked up after a cyclone. They toil not, neither do they beat about the bush for others, but they force up prices, and being forewarned, grow rich.

If that is not deliberately planned, it is curious how often it happens; An occasional sneer about dishonesty and corruption in other countries always leads "the masses" to believe that their own government is honest through and through.

And when the super-confidence-tricksters die, they are respected by all who don't know them. Those who do are too discreet to come out with the truth. Disconcerting questions on the lines of—"What about you?" might be asked. Rather than take undue risks, and looking forward to their turn next, enables the profitable old game of politics to flourish.

With that good luck which is now hardly possible with wireless to control all activities, the authorities in India determined to set about things properly. In November, 1810, a force of 6300 British troops, 2000 seamen and marines, and 3000 Indian soldiers, strong enough to do the job, left India without permission from the Home authorities. They succeeded in making the French take their turn at "capitulating," and on terms previously arranged, sent them back to France with their colours, arms and accoutrements.

The men of the 24th Foot, mentioned by Samuel Plummer, (that is those who were not hanged or jailed for fighting against their own countrymen), were "restored to establishment." They finished a journey so rudely interrupted by the French and in February, 1811, went into garrison in Fort William where they remained for more than three years.

Brethren of the Craft will be interested in the following—

"On St. John's Day, 1811, the members of the Masonic Lodges of Calcutta and Fort William accompanied by a number of other brethren not attached to any lodge at the Presidency, assembled at Moore's Rooms, whence they marched in procession to St. John's Church, preceded by the band of H. M's 24th Regiment." . . . "This is the first notice we have seen of such a procession."

"There were three Lodges of Freemasons in Calcutta which walked in procession on St. John's Day, in 1812, to St. John's Church—the "Star in the East," "True Friendship" and the "Marine Lodge."

As the 24th Foot were in Calcutta in 1812, it is more than probable that their band was again at the head of the procession. The three Lodges, like the 24th are still flourishing.

The indifference to weather conditions for troops travelling upcountry resulted in sickness, disaster and death to many. The principal reason undoubtedly was lack of accommodation; overcrowding was rife, and the first idea governing the official mind in regard to drafts, was to get rid of them.

On August 17, 1819, the Calcutta Journal reports a disaster to some boats conveying a detachment of the 24th Regiment to Cawnpore. One private and three children were drowned.

“In this affair, the meritorious and distinguished exertions of a Naique of the 14th Regiment of Native Infantry, forming part of the Sepoy Guard with the Detachment, are mentioned, as having saved no less than eleven men, two women, and one child from destruction. These poor wretches were clinging to the chopper of the boat, and could not dare to quit their hold, as neither of them could swim, or had any hopes of safety if they abandoned their grasp. The Naique (whose name is not mentioned) being both a brave fellow and an excellent swimmer, took them off one by one and supported them in his arms from the boat to the shore, making a separate trip for each individual, and being employed in this hazardous but magnanimous duty for nearly a full hour in the water.” Great praise was given to the Indian corporal for his humanity and it is to be hoped that his services were rewarded.

That happened on July 17, 1819. “On the evening of the 26th, the fleet reached Monghyr, where they heard of the loss of a budgerow, but a few miles below that place, belonging to Ensign Farrington, which was upset in a very broad and deep part of the river. The young officer was saved by one of the boatmen, who dragged him out of the water and placed him on the bottom of the boat which was uppermost.”

“On the 28th, the Detachment sailed from Monghyr, and on the evening of the 30th, another budgerow of the fleet was upset. This boat turned over so suddenly, that Lieutenant Bowers of His Majesty’s 14th Regiment of Foot, who occupied the cabin was washed fairly out of the weather window or port, which was open, by the rushing in of the water to leeward, and but for this opening of escape he must inevitably have been drowned.”

“The day after the loss of Lieutenant Bower’s budgerow one of the European boats sunk off Barr (Barh) on which occasion one of the Privates of H. M’s 87th Regiment of Foot was drowned. . . .

“This poor fellow had himself reached the shore, tho’ quite exhausted with the exertion. The wife of the sergeant, who was in the same boat, had remained longer on the wreck than the rest, in struggling to save her children, and being buoyed up by her clothes, remained floating on the water with those dear objects of her solicitude in her arms, even after the boat went down. The sight was sufficient to call forth the Soldier’s last efforts to rescue her; and, weak and exhausted as he was, he threw himself into the stream to swim back to their relief; but his strength failed him, and in this act of heroism and gallantry he sank to rise no more. The fond mother still retained her children in her dying embrace, and was dragged out of the water in a state of insensibility; but with great care they were gradually restored.”

On another boat on August 8, “We had the misfortune to lose one of our men taken out of the Boat by a Tyger.” . . . “It is singular that the creature never made the least noise, when he sprang into the boat.”

All of which looks as if changing stations had quite a fair of danger for troops en route.

Another reference to the 24th Foot is found two years later. Colonel Robinson, commanding the regiment, wrote a letter to the Calcutta Journal deriding social life in Calcutta. The letter, published over the caption of "Sam Sobersides," so exasperated certain Secretaries to the Government of Bengal that they proceeded against James Silk Buckingham, the editor, for libel. They lost the case. But Colonel Robinson was not the last to deride social humbug in the City on the Hooghly.

In "Fifteen Years in India or Sketches of a Soldier's Life. From the Journal of an Officer in His Majesty's Service," published in 1823, the writer says that he "went out to India in 1805, and returned in 1819."

His opinion of Calcutta in his day is worth repeating. "Were a country gentleman, in the full enjoyment of all his bodily faculties in this happy climate, to be suddenly transported to St. John's Church, in Calcutta, during the performance of divine service in the month of June, he would fancy himself seated among ghosts. He would look upon their sallow countenances with fear, and see the big drops coursing each other on the anxious brow, notwithstanding the large fans suspended overhead, and drawn backwards and forwards, by means of ropes passed from them through the windows of the church, by natives outside, to produce an artificial circulation of air. If he followed any gentleman to his home, he would see him there throw off his coat, and put on a light white jacket, as a relief from his sufferings; and on passing the burying ground beyond Chouringhee, the stranger would there perceive, in the numberless tombs and monuments, ample evidence of the terrible mortality prevailing in the land of his sojourn."

His description of Fort William reads:—"The barracks in it are superb; and the remarkable state of cleanliness in which its shady walks and fine parades are kept, together with the attraction of a military band, which plays almost every evening for public entertainment, draws all the fashion of the city to promenade within hearing, and causes it to be a continual scene of gaiety, except during the monsoon. . . ."

"But to a contemplative mind the most curious object within the walls of Fort William at this time was Vizier Ally, once Nabob of Oude, who was confined in a room made to resemble an iron cage, for the murder of Mr. Cherry, where he lingered out seventeen years of his life, and died at the age of thirty six. (Vide the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1818, page 84). At the time he was seen by the author, in 1814, he was an emaciated, wretched looking being, the vicissitudes of whose career are pregnant with interest and instruction."

Looking at the punishment impartially, Vizier Ali asked for what he got. He made an appointment with Cherry at Benares, and while talking to him, Cherry being unarmed, Vizier Ali struck him with his sword, "which was the signal for his followers, and the unfortunate gentleman received his death-blow from a *khanjar*, or dagger, whilst attempting to escape through a window. The attendant ruffians also massacred Captain Conway and Mr. Evans, two gentlemen who were present. After this they proceeded

onwards, headed by their precious prince, to the house of a Mr. Davis. On their way they met two gentlemen, named Graham and Hill, whom they killed. At Mr. Davis's house they shot the Sepoy sentry at the door, which circumstance gave the alarm. Mr. Davis immediately armed himself with a hog-spear, and conducted his wife and family to the top of the house. The staircase was most fortunately very narrow, and he defended that pass for nearly an hour and a half against his assailants, who could only ascend in single file; he was then relieved by the approach of a troop of cavalry, after having slain three or four, and severely wounded others of the ruffians."

In Sandeman's "Selections from Calcutta Gazettes" Vol. V., p. 194 is the following—

"Vizier Ally, who had been so many years a state prisoner in Fort William, for the murder of Mr. Cherry and others at Benares, died on Tuesday last. He was thirty six years of age, and had been nearly half that period in solitary confinement. Arrangements had been completed, by which he was to have been removed to Vellore, where he would have enjoyed comparative liberty and comfort, and the delay was only occasioned by the unfavourableness of the season. The humane intentions of Government had been communicated to him, and were acknowledged with becoming gratitude. He is said to have died of water in the chest. He was buried at Cassee Bagan, near the Circular Road, not far distant from one of Tippoo Sultan's sons. A number of gentlemen and respectable natives, attended the funeral, which was conducted in strict conformity to the Mahommudan rites."

The author of "Fifteen Years in India" has an interesting reference to the notorious Black Hole of Calcutta,

"Where the brave Holwell suffered in this clime,
With seven score men it was his wretched fate,
In the black hole a Soubah's sleep to wait."

He states, "When the black hole was pointed out to the author, it was almost full of coals; but he viewed it with strong emotions, and rejoiced that millions of people, who have now the watchful eye of our mild laws guarding their rights as men were rescued from the tyranny of masters who could strike such terror into their subjects, as to prevent pity from driving away slumber on hearing the dying shrieks of 146 human beings."

"The monument which commemorates the capture of Calcutta in 1756, by Surajah Dowlah, is fast hastening to decay, having been shattered by lightning."

The respect shown for the Black Hole and its monument was typical of the times. One of the padres of St. John's Church finding the graves in a dilapidated state had the ground cleared and tombstones of celebrities were treated as useless lumber. This mentality prevailed right up to Lord Curzon's time and he expressed horror at finding beautiful places desecrated. There was a building in Delhi, inlaid with coloured stone, a perfect piece

of ornamental architecture, used as a latrine for British soldiers. It is not so very many years ago that one of the Sheriffs of Calcutta whose romantic disposition saw nothing in a pile of priceless old records but waste paper, which he burnt. It must be admitted, compassionately, that his intelligence, if put up to auction among his friends and business acquaintances wouldn't have fetched two annas but he was decorated, with what that great American humorist, Will Adams, elevated into calling "the lowest form of royalty," only in this instance the knighthood should have been spelt without a "k."

When boys had a classical education hammered into them, they did learn to express themselves with sense and clearness as the following example will show.

General Order, Horse Guards, 18th January, 1810.

'The Commander in Chief has directed the following Order, issued by the General Officer Commanding His Majesty's Forces in North America, to be inserted in the General Orders of the Army.'

General Order, Quebec, 4th October, 1809.

"The Commander of the Forces has lately had occasion to see "in a Halifax Newspaper, a Copy of an Address presented by the Serjeants of the 1st Battalion Royal Fuzileers to Captain Orr, on that Officer relinquishing the Adjutancy in consequence of being promoted to a Company. So novel a circumstance would not fail to draw the attention of His Excellency, it being the first of its kind that has come to his knowledge during the Forty Six years that he has been in the Service, and as the first instance has thus (so far as he is aware at least) occurred on the part of the Army, with the Charge of which the King has been pleased to entrust him, he feels himself called on by every obligation of duty to His Majesty and the Service, to bear his testimony against it, by a public expression of disapprobation.

"His Excellency does not mean in this instance to ascribe any improper motive to the Serjeants. He has no doubt that their sole view was to express their regard and gratitude towards an Officer who, in the intimate Connection that had Officially subsisted between them, had very commendably conducted himself with kindness to them without departing from the Strictness of Discipline which was indispensable to the discharge of his Duty.

"But while His Excellency thus does Justice to the intention of the Serjeants of the Royal Fuzileers, he desires, at the same time, very seriously to observe to them, that in presuming to meet, in order to deliberate on the Conduct of their Superior Officer, they have in fact, however unintentionally, been guilty of an act of great Insubordination.

"It matters not that the Design of the Meeting, or in whatever Manner the Address was unanimously assented to, solely to express their Respect

and Esteem, the very Circumstance implies Discussion, and by that Discussion they rendered themselves obnoxious to the Imputation alluded to—Who, indeed, shall say where such a Practice, if once introduced, shall end? If the Non-Commissioned Officers of a Regiment are permitted to express their Approbation of the Conduct of the Adjutant, why may they not exercise the same right with respect to their Commanding Officer? Or what reason can be given why they should not be equally entitled to express their Disapprobation? Indeed, should the practice become general, the merely withholding the former would imply the latter.

“General Sir James Craig is the more desirous that his Sentiments on this Subject should be distinctly understood in the Fuzileers, because it appears, on the face of the Address of the Serjeants in question, that it has been countenanced by the Officer who then commanded the Regiment. The Commander of the Forces does no more than Justice to the Character and Services of that Officer, when he admits, that feeling as he does the dangerous tendency of the practice which he is censuring, he also feels himself the more bound to oppose it, in the first instance, from the Strength which it might otherwise derive from the Sanction which he appears to have given to it. Lieutenant Colonel Pakenham will however believe, that though it was impossible the General should avoid this observation of his Error, yet his doing so can by no means detract from the Esteem with which he has been taught to view his Character as an Officer, or the Confidence when he should be disposed to place in his Service.”

S/d. EDWARD BAYNES.

Adjt. General to the British Army serving in North America.

‘The Reason for which the Commander in Chief has directed the Circulation of this Order is, that he may avail himself of this Opportunity of declaring to the Army, his most perfect Concurrence in the Sentiments therein expressed by the distinguished and experienced Officer by whom it was framed on a Subject, which appears to have been by some very much misunderstood. The Circumstances of Inferiors of any Class of Military Men assembling for the purpose of bestowing Praise and Public Marks of Approbation on their Superiors, implies a Power of Deliberation on their Conduct, which belongs to the King alone, or to those Officers to whom His Majesty may be pleased to entrust the Command and Discipline of His Troops.

‘It is a Procedure equally objectionable, whether in the higher or lower Ranks of the Army, and as the Commander in Chief cannot but regard it as in principle subversive of all Military Discipline, he trusts it is a Practice which will be for ever banished from the British Service, as deserving of the

Highest Censure, and he directs Officers in Command to act accordingly." ;
 'By Command of the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief.

s/d. HARRY CALVERT,

'Adjutant General'.

JAS. NICOL,

Adjt. of the Army.

(Selections from the Calcutta Gozettes by Hugh David Sandeman. C.S. Vol. V. pages 42, 43, and 44. Published 1869.)

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The date when officers' messes were first established is difficult to ascertain. Some years ago a claim was made by the Seaforth Highlanders for this distinction but proof was only founded on belief. The 88th (Connaught Rangers) certainly had a mess in 1806, but it is possible that they date back several years.

The East India Company were, in many ways, far ahead of the British War Office. They built good barracks, enlisted men for short service and looked after them better, which perhaps says little. In England it was customary, up to the end of the 18th century, for men on a 24 hour guard to have no arrangements about food. The following order throws some light on Officers' Messes.

"The Court of Directors, desirous of affording every reasonable encouragement to the officers to establish regular regimental messes, is pleased to authorise the allowance of Sonat Rs. 150 per mensem" for all messes established by the general orders of the 8th May 1806, "for each regiment of European cavalry and infantry in the service of His Majesty or the Hon'ble Company, when actually marching or in the field in which messes have been, or might afterwards be established."

The author of "Fifteen Years in India" refers to a state of affairs in the 65th Foot which, in the vernacular, takes a bit of beating. The 65th was one of those regiments mentioned by John Shipp as having been raised to a strength of 1000 by the enlistment of boys. That unit also went to the Cape and then to India, fighting with the 22nd under Lord Lake. The 65th marched from Broach in the month of June and lost 300 men with several officers from heat stroke.

After praising the regiment to the skies, he goes on—"Of its institutions, and first, the mess.—All the unmarried officers mess together; and the married ones are honorary members, that is, they have the privilege of going to the mess when they please; but in camp, or when absent from their families, they are members in every respect. The mess-fund is formed by a certain contribution from every officer when he joins the corps, and a

certain additional gratuity for every grade he gains in the regiment. A quarterly committee transacts the current business under the control of an annual committee, of which the commanding officer is president, and in aid of these governing courts there is a code of regulations to which every member has to subscribe on joining the regiment.

"The non-commissioned officers have a mess established and conducted on similar principles; and the friendly society of serjeants have monthly meetings. All the unmarried privates are formed into messes, and dine under the inspection of officers and non-commissioned officers. Men distinguished for bravery in action with the enemy wear a laurel-wreath round the right arm, and dine together at the expence of the regiment twice a-year. In addition to the mess-fund, stock-purse, regimental and band funds, there are charitable and compassionate funds, for the relief of widows and orphans. All the soldiers' children, and boys of the corps, are obliged to attend the regimental school; and the non-commissioned officers and privates are encouraged to improve. Besides the various modes of reward and punishment, such as praise, promotion, courts-martial, congee-house, stoppage of liquor, and drill, there are company's courts, in which men judge each other, under sanction of the commanding officer. Prisoners for petty offences are tried by a court consisting of a corporal, who sits as president, and of four privates, as members; and it may be easily conceived how important this institution is in prevention of crimes; for the soldiers are censors on the conduct of one another, and feel bound as jurors to uphold the discipline and honor of their regiment."

The Commanding Officer of the 65th must have been more than a bit of a wag. When the regiment changed stations he would issue an order to the following effect:—

("Fort William) Barracks belong to the King; thank God for it. The regiment will take possession of them to-mo. row morning." &c.

The anonymous author of "Fifteen Years in India" has more to say about Officers' Messes. Apparently the 65th Foot were in Seroor. "Colonel Smith soon came in with the 56th regiment, and a considerable part of the force. He was of large stature, with a fine penetrating aspect, and the polished address of a highly educated man of the world. The second battalion of the 56th was shortly after its return reviewed preparatory to its disorganization. This fine corps had its 8th and light companies armed with rifles and clothed in green, and their skilful evolutions gave an interesting diversity to the correct manoeuvres of the battalion, which fixed all beholders with admiration. On this occasion, Colonel Smith in his orders bestowed the highest praise on Colonel Kingscote, the officers and men of this crack regiment. "In a system of discipline which that excellent officer," said he, "laid down, His Majesty's regulations have been always carefully preserved; every individual has been perfectly instructed in his part; and the strictest scrutiny into its interior order, or the most watchful eye on its field-movements, would equally fit a beautiful battalion, at once perfect, cheerful, and zealous in all its duties to their country." The writer goes on to say,

"It was like a piece of fine clockwork or mechanism, in which every part moved with perfect regularity. But this great attention to systematic order was in some things carried to ridiculous lengths. For instance, a detachment composed of a non-commissioned officer from each company, with the serjeant-major at their head, ranged themselves round the mess-table every evening immediately after the cloth was removed, and each man making a grand salute by regular signal, with the righthand presented an order-book held in the left to that officer behind whose chair he stood, who after reading returned the book, which was given to another. So that every one was supposed to peruse general, division, and regimental orders at dinner. After the books were placed in the left hand, the serjeant-major gave another signal, and the whole saluted, faced, and marched in file after their superior round the table, and out at the door. There is no accounting for the whims and fancies of men. Colonel Smith himself, when in command of the 65th regiment, was systematic even to the expulsion of whiskers from the corps, deeming it easier, to shave the face to the ear, than to raise a crop of hair where nature never intended one to grow ; but on the subject of exhibiting orders, he was diametrically opposite in his arrangement to Colonel Kingscote. He permitted no non-commissioned officer to enter the mess-room of the 65th while the officers were at dinner. It was necessary to communicate orders to any one at table, a mess-waiter informed the officer that he was wanted, and he withdrew to receive the message."

A further picture of the manners of the times is worth putting on paper. "Immediately after the review, volunteering commenced, and a great part of the men enlisted into the 65th regiment. All discipline in the two corps for a few days was lost, and upwards of sixteen hundred men became complete bacchanalians; for canteens were opened on the parades to enable them to spend the bounty with all possible expedition. The scene was one of great confusion. Here were some parading with drums to beat up for recruits, and there were others running about mad from the effects of intoxication, while the plain was strewn as if after a battle with men dead drunk. Colonel Smith was carried by the soldiers all around the cantonments on their shoulders, and fell several times from the reeling machine that supported his manly fabric; all this he bore with good nature, and by his fascinating affability so replenished the ranks, that his regiment, from being one of the weakest, was raised to the full numerical force of a strong corps. The rifles were transferred to the 65th, and two of the companies were soon arrayed in green. But after such disorganization it required some time to restore the regiment to perfect discipline."

On April 27 1814 the 1st Battalion of the 66th (Berkshire) Regiment arrived at Fort William and remained there until August 9 1815 when they embarked in boats for Dinapore.

During the year the East India Company received drafts totalling 500 from home who took their turn at duty in the Fort while the 53rd relieved the 66th when they went to Dinapore in 1815.

; The whole of the 53rd arrived from Berhampore on October 20 1815, embarking for Madras at the end of the following December.

During the 18 years the 53rd spent in India they lost in killed in action and by death 35 officers and 1167 other ranks. 485 were invalided.

The 59th (2nd Nottinghamshire) Regiment arrived at Fort William in June 1816, Lieut. Col. George McGregor commanding.

The "Asiatic Journal" contains this reference—

"On Monday morning (October 11, 1816) His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General landed on his return from the Upper Provinces, under a salute of 19 guns from the Ramparts of Fort William. At an early hour troops in garrison were drawn out, and formed a street on the road from Chandpal Ghat to North West Gate of Government House in the following succession ;—the Light Companies of H. M. 22nd, 59th, and 72nd Regiments. Seapoy Guards and Grenadier Company of the 59th Regiment."

The Calcutta Journal for March 11 1819 states—"On the afternoon of the 4th inst: H. M. 59th Regiment embarked at the Coolie Bazar, in order to proceed to Berhampore."

"Berhampore. It appears that H. M. 59th regiment has been stopped on its progress to Berhampore about 18 miles above Nuddea, the depth of the river at that place not being above a foot, so that it will be impossible for their boats to advance any farther for some time. This detention is attended with particular inconvenience as they have all their baggage and followers with them, and no tents to enable them to march by land were they less encumbered."

Calcutta Journal, Tuesday March 28 1819.

What their sufferings were from mosquitoes and other pests can almost be imagined but the length of time they were stranded has not been ascertained. This is the only other reference—"Berhampore, September 30 1819. A detachment of H. M. 59th Foot arrived here on the 21st but have since proved very sickly, and yesterday 130, men were in hospital."

The 17th (Leicestershire) Regiment left Ghazeepore on Christmas Day 1818 and arrived at Fort William on January 24 1819 for another turn of duty in Fort William. On December 21st 1820 they marched to Berhampore.

In 1818 orders were issued prohibiting carriages from being driven across the Maidan from one sortie to another, and the following year the following order was promulgated:—

"Garrison Orders by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General.

November 23 1819

"His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General is pleased to direct that in future "Velocipedes" shall not be permitted to enter the Respondentia Walk."

By Order

C. T. Higgins. Town Major.

It was usual for ships leaving England for Indian and China ports to steer across the Atlantic to get the trade winds which took them south in quicker time than if they hung about the Canary Islands. If they ran short of water, or had been badly buffeted by storms they put into the nearest South American port.

The Calcutta Journal for January 1819 reported this:—

"RIO JANEIRO.

"In a letter received by the ship Albion from this port, of the date of September 23 (1818) it is stated that His Majesty's 38th Regiment touched at Rio Janeiro on their way to the Cape, on the 28th September (sic) and that they were at the desire of His Catholic Majesty marched to St. Christova, where they paraded with the 11th and 15th Portuguese Regiments under the command of Brigadier General Carrer. The troops went through the different evolutions in the highest style to the satisfaction of a very numerous and respectable assemblage, amongst whom was His Majesty, the Royal Family and the foreign Ambassadors. His Majesty expressed to Colonel Miles, the Commanding Officer of the Regiment his entire approbation of the very high state of discipline of the corps, and presented him with a Star of the Military Order of Torre Capado."

General Orders, by His Excellency the Most Noble, the Governor General in Council Fort William May 14, 1819

It having been submitted for consideration of the Government, that many European soldiers from early aversion to spirituous liquor, and praiseworthy habits of sobriety, seldom or never drink the daily quantity supplied to them by the Regulations of the service, the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, anxious to give every encouragement to men of such marked temperance, is pleased to authorise a compensation in money to be paid to every European soldier of good character under this Presidency, who may prefer that commutation, in whole or in part, to the dram in kind now served out to them.

This indulgence will either be granted or withheld by officers commanding Regiments, as they may respectively judge fit, with reference to the character of the soldier applying for it; and the rate of compensation will be

the same as that at present paid, when circumstances prevent the liquor being issued.

s/d. W. Casement, Lt. Col. Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

General Orders by the Commander in Chief, Head-quarters, Calcutta
July 10, 1819.

His Majesty's 11th Regiment of Light Dragoons having arrived in the river from England, the Commander in Chief, agreeably to instructions received from Government, is pleased to direct, that the Regiment be held in readiness to proceed to Cawnpore by water, as soon as the Commissary General can provide boats for its conveyance. The Officer commanding the Regiment, will be pleased to send disembarkation returns without delay to the Adjutant General and Quarter Master General of the Army.

Captain Shadwell's Company of the 3d Volunteer Battalion will accompany the 11th Dragoons to Cawnpore.

(The regiment left in two divisions, the first on July 26).

Now and again a young officer would be commended in General Orders for his studious habits, but the attitude of senior officers seemed to be that of indifference. Other people's children were no concern to anyone in the regiment; if youngsters chose to remain fatheads, or to go to the devil, well, that was their look-out.

It has often been said that the average boy doesn't care how little education he gets for his father's money, and it has to be admitted that you may pay more for your schooling than your learning is worth. Education, like the goddess of hygiene has always met with a mixed reception. The popular idea about the old-time Army officer is that he was educated up to the standard of knowledge which told him never to begin a sentence with a full stop nor end it with 'and.' Little regard appears to have been shewn to the philosophy of George Aschram (1515-1568) who said, "By experience we find out a short way by a long wandering." Learning teacheth more in one year than experience in twenty. Or, to quote the Persians—"Experience is the comb given you by Providence after you have lost your hair."

"One of the Old School" writing in the Calcutta Journal on September 7 1819 gives himself and brother officers away in his views on the uselessness of education. He says:—

"It is true that several of our old Officers do not read a great deal; when they were young it probably was not much the fashion for Military men. Now to be sure there are reading rooms, and book clubs, spreading all over the country, and young men of five and twenty read the Edinburgh Review and Mill's History, where they imbibe disrespectful notions of our Honorable Employers, and learn to doubt the wisdom of Government. I found a lad in our own Battalion reading a French account of the siege of Saragossa, which since he is not an engineer, can be of no use to him until he gets up to the command of a large detachment. As I have a great regard for his Uncle (who was a Major in our service) I hinted this to him, but he replied that he hoped long before he was a Captain, *Brevet Rank* would be introduced,

and then he might rise to a command sooner than I supposed. It is plain that he can have no business at a Siege, except commanding his Company, these ten years. The accounts of regular Sieges that he studies all day with his compasses and his pencil, will be of no use to him in going against a mud fort. But he has got acquainted with some Officers who served in Spain, and they have turned his head with their stories about outposts, and Sieges, and all their Peninsular notions. The young man has good interest, and if he exerted it, might get probably into the Barrack department. A little of his leisure might be given to learning carpentry, and reading some good book about cements, (as I told him) would be of lasting use to him. But he looks down on this and will follow his own fancies."

There is much more of it, making one wonder how that Field Officer spent his time on a rainy day. Yet it must be sadly confessed, he was a type, not a specimen.

I take the following from the Calcutta Journal of Tuesday, September 7, 1819.

"By the arrival of the Honorable Company's ships *Princess Charlotte*, and *Lord Wellington* on Sunday, we have been furnished with regular files of the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Times*, and other London Papers up to the 20th of May, the contents of which we have hastily gone through, in order to lay a general abstract of them before our readers.

"On the 7th of May, the Army Estimates were discussed in the House of Commons, of which the following is the result.

"The following sums were voted :—

- 152,805£ for the General and Staff Officers, and Officers of Hospitals.
- 150,228£ for the Officers of the Public Departments of the Army.
- 29,035£ for Medicines and Surgical Materials.
- 121,668£ for Volunteer Corps.
- 25,173£ for the Royal Military College.
- 175,641£ for the pay of General Officers not being Colonels of Regiments.
- 33,658£ for garrisons at home and abroad.
- 127,437£ for full pay or retired and unattached officers.
- 770,161£ for half pay and allowances to reduced officers.
- 129,750£ for ditto for foreign corps.
- 42,849£ for Chelsea Hospital.
- 15,681£ for Kilmainham ditto.
- 1,173,648£ for out-pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham.
- 36,482£ for the Royal Military Asylum.
- 104,122£ for widows' pensions.
- 168,522£ for allowances in the Compassionate List.
- 20,732£ for allowances to reduced Adjutants of Local Militia.
- 37,337£ for superannuation of official persons.
- 35,000£ on account of Exchequer fees.

Other times—other estimates.

H. HOBBS.

Our Library Table

*Armenians in India : from the earliest times to the present day :
By Mesrobs J. Seth, M.R.A.S. Published by the author
from 9, Marsden Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 10/-.*

MR. SETH is already well-known to the students of Indian history, specially those who are interested in the history of the early British settlement in India. He has given ample evidence of his critical scholarship by writing several other books on the subject ; but the present one is his Magnum Opus with almost half a century of incessant labour behind it. Every portion of the book bears evidence of original research and even the casual testimony of the graveyard has not been over-looked. We hardly knew that the Armenians had any history of their own beside mere commercial activity.

The whole book has been divided into sixteen chapters each dealing with Armenian activity at Agra, Gwalior, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, Lahore, Kabul, Surat, Bombay, Chinsurah, Chandernagore, Saidabad, Monghyr, Calcutta, Lucknow, Dacca and Madras respectively. Mr. Seth has tried to prove that the Armenians knew India even when Semiramis was the Queen of the Assyrians ! This, of course, is more than what we can say with confidence. During the days of the great Moghuls the Armenians managed to establish a well-knit society of their own in the various trading centres of the empire, and they were lucky in securing the patronage of the great king Akbar. We cannot however bring ourselves with the author when he holds that Mariam Zamani Begum, wife of Akbar the great, was an Armenian lady and that Jahangir was the son of Armenian mother ! There is definite evidence to prove that Akbar had no Christian wife and Mariam Zamani Begum, the mother of Jahangir, was the daughter of Raja Behari Mal of Ambar (1). In any case Akbar's genial treatment towards them led to the quick growth of Armenian colonies all over India. The most interesting information supplied by Mr. Seth is the part played by the Armenians in paving the way for the British power in India by securing for them land grants and trade monopolies from the Moghul Court. It is indeed strange that people know very little about the contribution of the Armenians towards helping the English to settle down in India. Most interesting is the fact that Calcutta was well settled by the Armenians long before the English came and that it would have been really a hard job for Job Charnock to settle in Sutanati but for the privileges secured from the Moghul court by an Armenian named Khoja Israel. The

(1) Vide Keene's "Handbook to Agra" and "Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Lahore 1925."

most pathetic reading is provided by the chapter where we are given the story about one Mr. M. C. Arrakiel, an Armenian, who in his palmy days had most cheerfully spent his thousands for the sole benefit of the Government in its dark hour of need, by raising a volunteer corps and maintaining it at his own expense but who finally had to be granted by the same government, a pittance of one hundred sicca rupees per month when he fell on evil days. If these facts are true, as indeed they seem to be, then certainly Mr. Seth is right in accusing the then administration of ingratitude.

Among the technical defects of the book may be mentioned the absence of an index, but the author craves the indulgence of the reader in this matter as only ill health prevented him from preparing one. We have no hesitation in saying that for those who are interested in the history of modern India the book is of invaluable help.

The Editor's Note-Book

AT Lodwick Point in the hill-station of Mahabaleshwar is a monument erected to the memory of General Lodwick. The inscription on the south face,

which we take from the "Revised List of Tombs and Monuments in the Bombay Presidency" (1912), reads as follows: "In memory of General Peter Lodwick,

A Mahabaleshwar Memorial.

second son of John Lodwick esquire, S. Shoebury, Essex, who entered the Hon'ble E. I. Co.'s service in 1799, and died at Bagneres de Bigorre, France, August 28th, 1873, aged 90: Senior Officer of H.M.'s Forces in India". Inscriptions on other faces of the memorial give other interesting details of his career. Sir Patrick now informs us that since the publication of the 1912 list a further tablet has been added, inscribed:—

"In memory of Captain John Thornton Lodwick / 3rd Queen Alexandra's Own Gurkha Rifles, grandson of General Lodwick / who perished on 30th December 1915, aged 33, in the S.S. Persia which was torpedoed in the Mediteranean. / As a subaltern in the Royal Lancaster Regiment, he went through the Boer War. / As a Captain in the 3rd Gurkhas and Brigade Machine Gun Officer he was awarded the Distinguished Service Order / for conspicuous gallantry and ability in the action of Neuve Chapelle, France. /"

THOUGH General Lodwick lived to the ripe age of ninety, his record of longevity was easily beaten by many other of the East India Company's

servants; and some of those who attained a great age have already been mentioned in the pages of this Note Book. In reading again through Major Hodson's

Long-lived Bengal Officers.

List of Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834, for another purpose, we took a note of several of them who entered the Bengal Army in or before 1834 and yet survived till the present century. One was Cornet J. D. Barry, born in 1808, a cadet of 1825, who resigned in India on 4th January 1828 and died without issue on 1st July 1901. An almost exact contemporary of his was Captain J. R. B. Andrews of the 52nd Bengal N.I., born in 1809, who was transferred to the Invalid Establishment in 1846 and who died at Mussoorie on 14 August 1902 at the age of 93. We recall seeing his name as the last, or one of the two last, officers who were technically borne on the strength of the Invalids at Chunar. Both Ensign Barry and Captain Andrews were outstripped not only in rank but in age, however, by Major-General Frederick

Gaitskell, C.B., of the Bengal Artillery, who was born in 1806, retired in 1862 with the honorary rank of Major-General, and died at Torquay on 8 Feb. 1901. He, too, was the only one of the three to see active service.

MAJOR BULLOCK has procured from the Hasting MSS. at the British Museum copies of two letters bearing on the pensioning by Warren Hastings of his fostermother Mary Ellis of Churchill, to which "S. C. Grier" made passing allusion at p. 12 of her *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*. The first reads as follows:—

Warren Hastings'
Foster-mother.

"Fort William, Nov. 26th 1774. To Mr. Joseph Harvey.

Sir,

Your letter of the 4th August 1773 I have received: your Representation of the Circumstances of Mary Ellis induce me to allow towards her Maintenance Sixteen Guineas p. annum so long as she shall live to be paid quarterly, each Quarterly Allowance of four Guineas to be paid in Advance: to this Purpose I give Orders to my Attornies.. If you will be pleased to send Mary Ellis's Receipt for the said Sum to John Woodman Esq. in Cleaveland (sic) Row St. James's the money will be regularly paid.

I am

Sir

Your most obedient Servt.

Warren Hastings"

From the second letter it will be seen that Mrs. Ellis did not live long to enjoy this bounty:—

Churchill, 15th August 75.

"Sir,

I think proper to lett (sic) you know that Mary Ellis to whom Mr. Hastings was so kind as to allow Sixteen Guineas a year for her Life died suddenly (sic) Laste (sic) Fryday (sic) morning. I sent for her son who came over to Churchill and she was Buried Laste Sunday. He desires his Harty (sic) Thanks To Mr. Hastings for his goodness To His Mother who Before Mr Hastings's kindness was in Distress she Haveing (sic) only Two Shillings (sic) and six pence a week of the Parish it Being all her Living and she a Bout (sic) 80 years of age it

not Being in the power of her son To Do any Thing To assist her
as he Have a Large Family & in Low Circumstances.

I am Sr.

Yr, most Obedtt. Hble. St.

Joseph Harvey."

S. C. GRIER, at page 19 of her book, also tells us of Hastings' amusing long-lost uncle Thomas Warren, who was much surprised to hear, casually, from a Member of Parliament who was canvassing him, that his nephew Warren was a person of some eminence in India. Miss "Grier" quoted a passage from Thomas Warren's letter in her introduction ; but it is a curiosity that deserves to be given in full, and as it does not appear ever to have been printed *in extenso* we give it here. But we must omit the "(sic)" with which it would ordinarily have to be besprinkled, lest we spoil the effect.

"Twynning Glostershire Novr. 19. 1774.

Dr. Nevieu

I heard you was in England about three Years agoe & that you was at Cheltenham from thence you went through Gloster to Bath. my youngest Sister Anne Turner who lives at Gloster was greatly disappointed for she fully expected you would have called upon her, but she, I, Brother nor Sister Oakelley at Birmingham have never heard from you. I hope you have no dislike to the Family. I hear God Almighty have indued you with Sence, Honnour, & Riches I wish it may for ever continue, & that I may live who am 72 yrs. of age to see you in England but in the meantime I hope you will favour me with a Line from you

Dr. Nevieu

Yr. Loveing Uncle

Thos. Warren

N B I took this oppertunity to send this by my friend Mr Skey but for fear this should miscarry I intend to send another by some other way."

The writer was Thomas Warren, junior, of Stubhill, whose sister Hester was Warren Hastings's mother. "Anne Turner", referred to in the letter, was Ann Warren, who had married John Turner. Her sister Elizabeth married Walter Oakley of Birmingham ("Sister Oakelley at Birmingham"). "Brother" was John Warren. "Mr Skey" is a mystery : we suspect he was Mr Sykes, one of Warren Hastings' three "attornies" or agents in England—later Sir Francis Sykes.

WE wonder whether the Cotswold Warrens had any remote connexion with the French family of the same name, who were also represented in India. The French family descended, according to Ruvigny's *Nobility of Europe*, from one Edward Warren of Seatown and Bellagmoor, who went with King James to France, was later in the service of the Duke of Lorraine, established himself at Nancy, and died in 1733. His second and eldest surviving son, John Baptist Francis James de Warren, "celebrated in the *monde savant* under the title of Chevalier de Warren, emigrated in 1792 and became a captain in the 33rd Regiment in the British Service." On the Restoration he returned to France and had his nobility recognised as Comte de Warren by Louis XVIII, 28 March 1816. He died in 1830, leaving a son, Francis Patrick Edward Warren, born at Madras on 8 June 1811. F. P. E. Warren, who was a knight of the orders of the Legion of Honour and of Francis Joseph of Austria, served as an officer in H. M. 55th Regt. and wrote, amongst many other works, a once well-known book *L'Inde Anglaise*. There is a reference to him and to his father in the late Mr. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs in Madras* (p. 372). John Baptist F. J. de Warren was Judge of the Royal Court at Pondicherry, where he died. The latter's daughter, Elizabeth, married in 1829 Captain Adolphe Mottet of the Nizam's Army and formerly of the Royal French Navy. They had a daughter Claire, who married in 1869 Charles Adrian Prosper d'Epinay, M.V.O., the sculptor (1836-1914), and had issue,

The principal title now held by the family is that of Duke of Warren, conferred by Pope Leo XIII in 1900 on F. P. E. Warren's grandson.

IT is remarkable that up to the present no separate life of Marian Hastings has appeared. No more fascinating subject for a biography could be imagined, and we are therefore glad to learn that such a book has now been completed and that it is likely to be published in London this year. The author is well known to the Calcutta public, and has based her study not only on the copious printed sources but on original research amongst the abundant Hastings Papers in the British Museum.

ANOTHER new publication is Mr Mesrobian J. Seth's monumental life-work on *Armenians in India*, obtainable from the author (9 Marsden Street, Calcutta) at ten rupees or fifteen shillings a copy. It is printed by the Press which is responsible for this journal, and contains some 650 large pages. A review will doubtless appear in *Bengal : Past and Present* in due course. Mr. Seth hopes to follow his

history with two more compilations, the *Armenian Album of India*, being a companion volume of illustrations to the history, and the *Armenian Obituary of India*, containing some five thousand monumental inscriptions which the author has collected during the past fifty years.

WITH this number of our Journal the series of monumental inscriptions which Major Bullock has collected reach their two thousandth epitaph. The number of Anglo-Indian monumental inscriptions which have been printed is considerable, as the following list—not a complete one—will show :—

'Lists of Anglo-Indian Epitaphs.

Wilson's Bengal M.I.	...	...	969	epitaphs
Cotton's Madras M.I.	...	...	2,308	„
Irving's Punjab M.I.	...	...	1,146	„
Blunt's United Provinces M.I.	...	...	983	„
Mrs Crofton's C. P. M.I.	...	...	954	„
Mrs Crofton's Rajputana M.I.	...	...	1,110	„
Garrett's supplementary Punjab M.I.	...	...	1,202	„
Bombay Govt. revised list	...	...	827	„
Assam Govt. list	...	...	1,891	„
			11,390	„

To these must be added the large numbers in the old lists such as the "Bengal Obituary"; in the Madras Districts M.I.—perhaps aggregating eight or ten thousand; and in the official but unsatisfactory Bihar and Orissa lists.

HAS anyone ever succeeded in constructing a pedigree of the Doveton family, to show the relationships of the numerous holders of this name who served the East India Company in St. Helena, Bengal, Madras and Bombay? They are said to descend from one William Dufton who emigrated to St. Helena in 1674; and we may note that Colonel D. G. Crawford in his *Roll of the I. M. S.* (no. St. H. 26) records that one William Duffton or Doveton was appointed surgeon's mate at St. Helena on 17 July 1746 and died there on 27 May 1760. Later members of the family all seem to have adhered to the spelling Doveton. The first Willam Dufton above-mentioned is said to have had a son Jonathan Doveton, who married one Eleanor Coulson and had a son John Doveton, who married Mary Worrall. This last couple appear to have been the parents of Sir William Webber Doveton, Kt. (1753-1843), member of council at St. Helena, who married in 1775 Eleanor, only daughter of Anthony Beale. Sir W. W. Doveton had a number of children who made their careers in the wider fields afforded by the Company's service in India proper; but before we deal with these, let us mention some other Dovetons who remained in St. Helena. Gabriel Doveton (whose place in the pedigree

is as yet indeterminate) became a Senior Merchant at St. Helena, married in 1798 Mary A. Kennedy; and died on 19 Feb. 1816. There was also a John Doveton in the St. Helena Regt. of Infantry; and a William K. Doveton in the St. Helena Artillery, who died in 1870. Further, we may note that the Doveton evidently had one or more connexions by marriage with the Bazetts, another leading family of St. Helena, which like the Dovetons is still represented in the Indian Services.

AMONGST the sons of Sir William Webber Doveton appear to have been the following:—

The Rider Haggards. Sir John Doveton (1783-1857), K.C.B. (see *Dict Ind. Biog.*)

Lt.-Col. Chas. Jackson Doveton, Bengal Army (see *Hodson*, ii. 77).

Frederick Larkins Doveton (1791-1859), Madras Henry Bazett Doveton (1793-1830), Madras and possibly Bazett Doveton (died 30 Aug. 1848) of the Bombay C.S. The last-named's daughter Ella married William Meybohm Rider Haggard of Bradenham Hall, Norfolk, whose sons were Sir William Henry Doveton Haggard, K.C.M.G., C.B., and Sir Rider Haggard the well-known novelist. Another famous descendant of Sir William Webber Doveton was through his daughter Maria, his great grandson Admiral Sir Frederick Doveton Sturdee.

ANOTHER author was Frederick Bazett Doveton (born at Exeter, 1841; died 4 Dec. 1911), described in *Who Was Who* as "eldest son of the late Captain Doveton of the Royal Madras Fusiliers".

Another Author. He married (1) 1867, Annie Elizabeth, 3rd daughter of the late William Douglas Madras C.S. (entered 1823); and (2) Margaret Heriot, youngest daughter of the late General Howden, Royal Madras Fusilliers. He joined the Royal Canadian Rifles (? Regt.) in 1861; entered the Army Control Department in 1868; is shown in Hart's Army List for 1887 as a Deputy Commissary in the Commissariat and Transport Department with effect from 1870; and retired in 1879. Thence forward he led a literary life and the name of half a dozen of his books are given in *Who Was Who*. Another Frederick Doveton, of an earlier generation, was a London merchant, and lived in Upper Wimpole Street: he married Mary Slade and had three or more children, amongst whom were Lt.-Col. Henry Doveton (1799-1893) of the Bengal Army (see *Hodson*, ii. 77) and Edward Doveton (1800-1823) who served in Madras. We find the whole family very puzzling, and hope that some reader can throw light on it. In 1932 there were two Majors Doveton on the retired list of the Indian Army, and we believe that it is still represented in other branches of the Indian Services.

